CAMBRIDGE GREEK TESTAMENT FOR SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

THE REVELATION OF ST. JOHN

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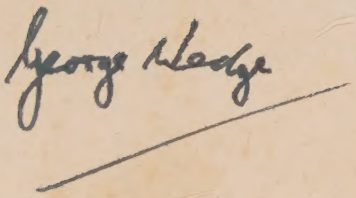

CAMBRIDGE GREEK TESTAMENT FOR SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

THE REVELATION

OF

S. JOHN THE DIVINE

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THE REVELATION

OF

S. JOHN THE DIVINE

WITH NOTES AND INTRODUCTION

by the late

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PREFACE.

BY THE GENERAL EDITOR.

THE Greek Text upon which the Commentaries in this Series are based has been formed on the following principles: Wherever the texts of Tischendorf and Tregelles agree, their readings are followed: wherever they differ from each other, but neither of them agrees with the Received Text as printed by Scrivener, the consensus of Lachmann with either is taken in preference to the Received Text: in all other cases the Received Text as printed by Scrivener is followed. It must be added, however, that in the Gospels those alternative readings of Tregelles, which subsequently proved to have the support of the Sinaitic Codex, have been considered as of the same authority as readings which Tregelles has adopted in his text.

In the Commentaries an endeavour has been made to explain the uses of words and the methods of con-

struction, as well as to give substantial aid to the student in the interpretation and illustration of the text.

The General Editor does not hold himself responsible except in the most general sense for the statements made and the interpretations offered by the various contributors to this Series. He has not felt that it would be right for him to place any check upon the expression of individual opinion, unless at any point matter were introduced which seemed to be out of harmony with the character and scope of the Series.

J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON.

CHRIST'S COLLEGE,
February, 1893.

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE text of this edition was formed by my brother on the same principles as in the previous volumes of the Series. The Introduction and Commentary are based upon those in the English Series, but both have been carefully revised and expanded. My brother's minute study of the Language of the Book was of the greatest use to me in adapting the Commentary to the Greek Text. Professor Weiss' edition (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, VII. 1) was also very helpful.

I am indebted to Prof. W. Robertson Smith for the details of famine prices in the note on vi. 6, which were communicated to me through the General Editor, whom I also have to thank for many valuable suggestions and criticisms.

G. A. SIMCOX.

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Much he ask'd in loving wonder,
On Thy bosom leaning, Lord!
In that secret place of thunder,
Answer kind didst thou accord,
Wisdom for Thy Church to ponder
Till the day of dread award.

Lo! Heaven's doors lift up, revealing
How Thy judgments earthward move;
Scrolls unfolded, trumpets pealing,
Wine-cups from the wrath above,
Yet o'er all a soft Voice stealing,—
"Little children, trust and love!"

KEBLE.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

Versions.

E. V.	English Version.
A. V.	Authorised Version.
R. V.	Revised Version.
Aeth.	Aethiopic Version.
Aeth.^{Rom}	Aethiopic, Roman edition 1548 A.D.
Arm.	Armenian.
Arm.^{Zohr}	Armenian, Zohrab's Edition (Venice, 1789).
Cop.	Coptic.
Syr.	Syriac.
Vg.	Vulgate.
Am.	Codex Amiatinus 6th century in Laurentian Library at Florence.
Fu.	Codex Fuldensis 6th century at Fulda.
Tol.	Codex Toletanus 10th century at Madrid.
Lips.^{4} } Lips.^{9} }	MSS. of Revelation at Leipzig collated by Matthiae.
Cod. Flor.	Codex Floriacensis, a palimpsest 7th century from the abbey of Fleury, now at Paris.

Commentators.

Amb. Aut.	Ambrosius Autpertus or Ansbertus.
And.	Andreas Archbishop of Caesarea.
And. Comm.	Andreas' Commentary; the text of the MSS. differs.
And.^{a}	Andreas' Augsburg MS. 12th century.
And.^{bav}	Andreas' Munich MS.
And.^{c}	Andreas' MS. from Coislin library, 10th century.
And.^{p}	Andreas MS. from Palatine library, 12th century.
Areth.	Arethas, Archbishop of Caesarea.
Beat.	Beatus, quoted by Haussleiter.
Primas.	Primasius, edited by Haussleiter.
Tyc.	Tyconius.
Tyc. ap. Aug. Ap.	Tyconius reproduced in the homilies in the Appendix to St Augustine.

Fathers.

Cass.	Cassiodorus.
Cyp.	St Cyprian as quoted by Haussleiter.
[Cyp.]	Enlarged edition of Testimonia Haussleiter.
Epiph.	St Epiphanius.
Hipp.	St Hippolytus. The readings not given by Tischendorf are from the newly published 4th book of his commentary on Daniel.
Hieron.	St Jerome.
Iren.	St Irenaeus in the old Latin Version.
Iren. Gr.	St Irenaeus where the Greek is extant.
Promissa.	Auctor libri de promissionibus dimidii temporis.
Tert.	Tertullian as quoted by Haussleiter.

Editors.

Text. Rec.	Textus Receptus as printed by Scrivener.
Lach.	Lachmann's larger edition.
Treg.	Tregelles.
Tisch.	Tischendorf: eighth edition; where the text and notes differ the latter are cited.
W. H.	Westcott and Hort.

INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

AUTHORSHIP AND CANONICITY OF THE REVELATION.

In the case of some of the books of Scripture, the questions of their authorship and of their canonical authority are quite independent of one another. Many books are anonymous[1], many have their authors known only by a post-canonical tradition[2]; and the rejection, in any case where it may be called for, of this tradition need not and ought not to involve a denial of the divine authority of the book. Even in cases where the supposed author is named or unmistakeably indicated in the book itself, it does not always follow that the book either must be written by him, or can owe none of its inspiration to the Spirit of truth: the person of the professed author may have been assumed dramatically without any *mala fides*[3]. On the other hand, there are books which plainly exclude any such hypothesis, and either must be forgeries, more or less excusable but hardly consistent with divine direction, or else must be the genuine and inspired works of their professed authors.

The case of the Revelation may be regarded as intermediate between the two last-named classes. The author gives his name as "John," but gives no *unmistakeable* token, in this book

[1] e.g. Judges, Kings, and Chronicles; and in the N.T., Hebrews.

[2] e.g. the Synoptical Gospels.

[3] As is certainly the case with the apocryphal Wisdom of Solomon, and almost certainly with Ecclesiastes. It is conceivable that the case of the Pastoral Epistles of St Paul might be similar.

itself, to identify him with St John the Apostle: and hence the opinion is rationally tenable, that the Revelation is the work of a person named John, writing what he *bonâ fide* regarded as a supernatural vision, but not having more claim on the reverence of the Church than his work can command on its own merits. On the other hand, we shall find that the book was so early and so widely received as the work of the Apostle, that it may well be suspected that, if not really his, it was falsely put forward as his, and intended by the real author to be received as his: so that those who reject the Apostolic authorship of the book may be pardoned if they regard it as a fraudulent forgery.

It thus will be convenient to discuss the two questions of *authorship* and of *canonical authority* in connexion with one another, though remembering that the determination of one does not (except in the first of the cases now to be mentioned) necessarily involve that of the other. The book may be either (1) the genuine and inspired work of St John the Apostle; or (2) a forgery in the name of St John the Apostle; or (3) it may be the genuine and inspired work of another John; or (4) a *bonâ fide* but uninspired work of another John. We may fairly set aside the logically conceivable cases, of the Apostle writing *not* under divine inspiration, and of a person writing indeed fraudulently, but not intending to personate the Apostle. Let us examine the evidence, external and internal, for each of these views:—

I. The external attestation of St John's authorship is strong. Only three books of the New Testament at most (St Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians, perhaps those to the Ephesians and Philippians) are known to be cited with the author's name as early as the Apocalypse. Justin Martyr (whose First *Apology*, written not later than A. D. 160, attests the authority if not the authorship of the book by a clear reference to Rev. xii. 9 or xx. 2) quotes the substance of Rev. xx. 3—6 as part of the Revelation made 'to a man *named John, one of the Apostles of Christ*'—in the *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew*. This testimony *may* be *very* early, for the *Dialogue*, though written after the *Apology*, professes to reproduce a conference the date of which

is variously fixed from A.D. 135 to 148, while the scene is laid at Ephesus, where surely, if anywhere, the true authorship of the Revelation must have been known. There is of course the possibility that a writer who identified *Semo Sancus* with *Simo Sanctus* may have hastily identified the John of whom he heard at Ephesus as the Seer of the Apocalypse with John the Apostle of whom he must have heard from the beginning of his conversion in Palestine. But if he really appealed to the authority of St John as early as A.D. 135, it is probable that he would have been corrected if mistaken.

We may regard as practically contemporary with this the evidence afforded by PAPIAS, bishop of Hierapolis near Laodicea, who acknowledged the Apocalypse, as is stated by Andrew, bishop (in the fifth century?) of Caesarea in Cappadocia, in the prologue to his Commentary on the book. Papias's evidence, if we had it at first hand, would be even more convincing than Justin's: for not only did he belong to the district where the Revelation was first circulated[1], but he is said to have been a hearer of St John himself—he certainly was a zealous collector of traditions relating to him. But Papias's own works are lost, and though Andrew was doubtless acquainted with them, his testimony is not quite decisive. Eusebius professes (*H. E.* III. iii. 2), in his account of early divines, to state whenever they quote as Scripture books of which the canonicity was disputed: and he does thus note the passage of Justin's *Trypho* already cited. In his account of Papias (*ib.* xxxix. 13), he tells us that he quoted the First Epistle of St Peter, and that of St John, though, as the canonicity of these books was *not* disputed, he was not bound to note the fact. If then Papias had quoted the book about which there was the keenest dispute of all, Eusebius would surely have told us so; especially as he actually founded a conjecture as to its authorship (see p. xxvii) on a passage in Papias. Thus the argument from the silence of Eusebius, which

[1] It has been observed that, while the Churches of Laodicea and Sardis must have known the facts about the origin of the Apocalypse, they had every interest in discrediting its authority, if they honestly could.

is worth very little as evidence that Papias did not know St John's Gospel, is, as regards the Revelation, as strong as an argument from silence can be.

Moreover, he enables us to account for Andrew's assuming that Papias knew the book, without his having expressly cited it. Papias certainly held the doctrine of a Millennium, which is not, even apparently, taught in any canonical book but the Apocalypse. Andrew may therefore have taken for granted that he derived the doctrine from it, while in reality he may have had no authority but the general belief of the Church. The only passage in the extant fragments of Papias bearing on the subject seems to be derived by tradition from the Book of Enoch. If he had actually read the passage of that book, which he seems to be reproducing, he could not have put the rather silly description of the ideal bliss which it contains into the mouth of our Lord.

But, even if Papias did not expressly quote the Revelation, it does not follow that he was not acquainted with it: and in fact we find it unhesitatingly received by the Churches of Asia during the second century. Of the many Christian writers of that age and country almost all the works are lost: but we have catalogues of those of Melito, bishop of Sardis, the ablest, most learned, and most critical among them, who flourished in the reign of M. Aurelius, A.D. 161—180. He not only acknowledged "the Revelation of John," but wrote a commentary upon it. His testimony would be the weightier if as is probable his work on 'Prophecy' was directed like Clement's against Montanism.

A colony from the Churches of Asia appears to have been established about this time, or earlier, at Lyons in Gaul. In A.D. 177 they and their neighbours of Vienne were exposed to a savage persecution, of which a detailed account, addressed to their Asiatic kinsmen, was written by a surviving brother: and considerable fragments of this are preserved by Eusebius (*H. E.* v. i—iii.). In this the Revelation (xxii. 11) is expressly quoted as "the Scripture." Besides this, we have constant evidence of the writer's familiarity with the book: he speaks of Christ as "the faithful and true Witness" (Rev. iii. 14), and of

"the heavenly fountain of the water of life" (vii. 17, xxii. 1). The Church is personified as a Virgin Mother (c. xii.): the Martyrs in their spiritual beauty are compared to a "bride adorned in embroidered robes of gold" (xxi. 2): one of them "follows the Lamb whithersoever He goeth" (xiv. 4) and throughout we have references, not only to the expected persecution of Antichrist, but to the imagery of the Dragon and the Beast.

Pothinus, the aged bishop of Lyons, who died in this persecution, was succeeded by IRENAEUS. The latter was certainly a native of Asia, probably of Smyrna: and, though his works belong to a later date than Justin or the other writers we have named, he is not practically more remote from the source of authentic tradition. For in his boyhood he had known and heard St Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, and he remembered the account he gave of his personal intercourse with St John (*Ep. ad Flor.*, *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* v. xx. 8, 9). Now St Polycarp was burnt A.D. 155, and had then been a Christian 86 years: his conversion therefore, or birth in a Christian family, must have taken place A.D. 69 or 70. And St Irenaeus states (*Adv. Haer.* III. iii. 3) that both his conversion and his appointment as bishop were the acts of "Apostles;" the latter can hardly have been the act of any other Apostle than St John, who (according to Irenaeus) "lived till the time of Trajan," i.e. at least to A.D. 98. At that time Polycarp may have been from 30 to 40 years old; thus it appears that he had been the personal disciple of St John from early childhood to full maturity. His traditions therefore about the Apostle must have been absolutely authentic, and they must have served as a check on the circulation in Asia of spurious ones, at least among those who knew Polycarp personally. It thus appears that Irenaeus received authentic traditions about St John, passing through but one intermediate step. Now Irenaeus' testimony to the authorship of the Apocalypse is even more definite than any that we have yet met with. He not only everywhere ascribes it to the Apostle, but states (*Adv. Haer.* v. xxx. 1) that "it was seen not long ago, but almost in our own generation, near the end of the reign of Domitian" (i.e. A.D. 95—6). And

he tells us that this statement rests on the authority of persons who had seen St John—possibly therefore of Polycarp, or at least of Papias.

Shortly before the date of the martyrdoms of Lyons arose the fanatical heresy of the MONTANISTS, on the borders of Mysia and Phrygia. Their wild beliefs on the subject of the New Jerusalem would tend rather to discredit than to support the authority of the book they appealed to as teaching the like: but the fact that their opponents in Asia accepted it as a common ground for discussion proves how unanimous was the tradition respecting it. The Martyrs of Lyons themselves wrote on the controversy, which in their days had not amounted to an actual schism. Alcibiades, one of their number, is still generally identified with the Alcibiades whom Eusebius mentions in the same chapter, *H. E.* v. iii. 2, as one of the leaders of the Montanist party. On the other hand, Apollonius, who is said to have been an Ephesian, wrote after the controversy had grown very bitter: but we are told that he quoted the Revelation as authoritative, and apparently as the work of St John.

TERTULLIAN, who wrote in Africa at the very end of the second century and in the early part of the third, constantly quotes the book as St John's, and seems to know nothing of any doubts about it, except on the part of heretics. His testimony is however the less valuable, as he admitted the Book of Enoch: he became a Montanist in later life, and his quotations from the Revelation seem all to be in works written after his fall into heresy. Still it is probable that this is due to a change of temper, rather than to a change of opinion: for everything indicates that the orthodox Church of Africa accepted the book without hesitation. It certainly did so in the next generation, as we know from St Cyprian's works.

Approximately contemporary with Tertullian—perhaps rather earlier—was CLEMENT of Alexandria, who quotes the Revelation[1] as St John's work, and refers historically to his exile in Patmos.

[1] This is not noticed by Eusebius, though he mentions the fact of his quoting other "disputed" books. This makes his silence as to Papias less decisive against his having quoted the book.

He is less likely than Tertullian to have tested for himself the current tradition of his day: for though he does not, like St Irenaeus, quote Hermas with the formula ἡ γραφὴ λέγει, he does accept him as Scripture; while Tertullian openly rejected him when a Montanist, and probably never treated him with more than perfunctory respect.

Of about the same age, or possibly a little later, would be the anonymous work on the Canon, known as the MURATORIAN FRAGMENT, and supposed to be a Latin version of a Greek original written at Rome. In this the "Apocalypse of St John" is recognised: so apparently, though more doubtfully, is an "Apocalypse of St Peter," which if mentioned is mentioned with the remark that some object to its being read in the Church: this would imply two things—that when the list was drawn up the Canon was still half open to doubtful works, and that so far as the writer knew there was no doubt about the Apocalypse of St John.

About this same period there appears another kind of evidence, shewing still more plainly the belief, not of individual divines alone, but of large provincial Churches—the VERSIONS of the New Testament made for ecclesiastical use in Churches where Greek was not generally spoken. The old Latin version was in use by Tertullian's time, and must almost certainly have included the Apocalypse. The versions in the different Egyptian dialects, however, do not seem to have contained it till a later date. As to the Syriac, perhaps the oldest version of all, the evidence is more doubtful. The Peschitto, or vulgate Syrian version in use from the fourth century onwards, does not contain the book: but according to the view now taken by what seem to be the highest authorities, this is only a revision of the oldest version, that being one which has not been recovered, except (in part) for the Gospels. It cannot be thought impossible that this oldest version included the Apocalypse which is quoted as inspired by St Ephraem of Edessa, the great divine and poet of the Syrian Church, though he also uses the four minor Catholic Epistles which were not then part of the Syriac Canon.

If we are now past the time when living tradition can be

appealed to as decisive evidence, we have reached the time when scientific principles of criticism began to be applied to the traditional beliefs of Christendom. Justin, Irenaeus, Clement, Tertullian, were all well-educated men: the first and third ranked as "philosophers," in the sense in which that term was used in their age: Tertullian was a man of real original power of thought. Origen, the pupil and successor of Clement, was not only a learned student, but an able critic. He discusses ably and sensibly the question, admitted to be doubtful, of the authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews: he notices the doubts, though without doing much to solve them, that existed as to that of the Second Epistle of St Peter: but as to the Apocalypse he seems to know of no doubts at all, or none worth heeding.

A man of almost equal learning, of about the same date, was Hippolytus, bishop of Portus near Rome, or perhaps a claimant of the Roman see. In his extant works he constantly and unhesitatingly ascribes the Revelation to the Apostle John: but from a catalogue of his whole works it seems that he thought it necessary to defend its authenticity, though he had not always found it so, if, as Bishop Lightfoot suggests, the lost original of the Muratorian Canon was identical with his early metrical list of Canonical books.

The last witness who need be quoted at this stage of the enquiry is Victorinus, a bishop and martyr in the Diocletian persecution. He wrote a Commentary on the Revelation, which was sent to St Jerome with a request that he would correct it. Probably all extant MSS. are based upon his revision: his letter to Anatolius seems to imply that there was a system of marks for those passages in the original chiefly referring to the Millennium which St Jerome regarded as over literal, and also for St Jerome's own additions chiefly drawn from Tyconius. It might be possible to distinguish these from the original text, and from later additions, e.g. the explanation of Genseric for the Number of the Beast; and then we should be in a position to judge of the precise value of the traditions which St Victorinus had inherited. His testimony, like that of later fathers, is chiefly valuable as shewing

that earlier fathers were regarded as witnesses to an ecclesiastical tradition.

II. The earliest people we hear of as denying the authenticity of the Apocalypse are the so-called Alogi, generally regarded as an Asiatic sect or school of extreme opponents of Montanism, who thought it necessary to discredit the writings of St John because their Montanist countrymen appealed to their authority in support of their own views. All, or nearly all, we know of them comes from St Epiphanius, a diligent and zealous reader of books without tables of contents or indices, who too often confused his authorities and amplified them by hearsay. Lipsius and Lightfoot hold that he took his account of the *Alogi* from the lost work against heresies which St Hippolytus wrote before the larger work which Dr Miller recovered and published. This early work was certainly used by Epiphanius, Philastrius, and the so-called Pseudo-Tertullian, whose work, whether he meant to personate Tertullian or no, has reached us as an appendix to the *de Praescriptione*. Dr Salmon holds that his only source was the work of Hippolytus against Gaius, a learned and respected Roman Presbyter, several quotations from which have been published from time to time in *Hermathena* by Dr Gwynn from a mediaeval Syrian writer. If Epiphanius drew from Hippolytus' work against heresies we may infer that the latter invented the nickname of *Alogi*, which means 'unreasonable,' and seemed to be deserved by their denial of the *Logos*, the Word or Reason of God, proclaimed by St John. We may also infer that the sect or school practically disappeared in the interval between the two treatises: we might also infer that they are identical with the persons mentioned by St Irenaeus as rejecting the Fourth Gospel. We might also contrast the objections which we know from Epiphanius with those which we know from Eusebius and Bar Salibi. As far as it appears from Epiphanius their chief argument was that they found the book mysterious and unedifying. The answer is obvious, that very likely it was unedifying to *them*. A more important argument common to them and to Gaius was that ?93 years after the Ascension there was no church at Thyatira (the reason being, ?as the Montanists claimed,

that the Church there had been swallowed up by Montanism); to which Hippolytus replied that (?)after an interval of 112 years i.e. 234 A.D. that church had been happily restored. Of course the evidence of the Revelation itself is sufficient to prove that a church of Thyatira *had* existed when the Revelation was written. Gaius also dwelt forcibly on the contrast between the Day of the Lord that 'cometh as a thief in the night' and the terrible signs which follow the Seals and Trumpets and Vials: though he failed to notice that the same contrast presents itself in the Discourse on the Mount of Olives. The Syriac fragments make it quite clear that Gaius refers to the Canonical Revelation in the passage quoted by Eusebius (*H. E.* III. xxviii.) in which he speaks of "Cerinthus, who by revelations professedly written by a great Apostle passes off upon us false marvels professedly shewn to him by angels; and says that after the Resurrection the kingdom of Christ will be earthly; and that the flesh having its dwelling in Jerusalem will do service again to lusts and pleasures. And being an enemy to the Scriptures of God he says, desiring to deceive, that a thousand years fully told will pass in a marriage of feasting." There is much in this which does not correspond to the present Canonical text: it is possible that Cerinthus may have found it worth while to circulate a garbled edition of the Apocalypse; just as Tertullian tells us (*Adv. Marc.* I. i.) that a Marcionite had diligently circulated a very faulty copy he had made of the second draught of the Treatise against Marcion.

If Hippolytus knew the *Alogi* as a sect or school, it is clear that their great offence was the rejection of the Fourth Gospel; and it is remarkable that as they were otherwise orthodox there should have been any part of Christendom in which the tradition of the Fourfold Gospel was still unknown. Of course where the tradition was uncertain there was a strong temptation to reject the book, which seemed to support the Montanist doctrine of the Paraclete, with the book which nourished the Montanist hope of the Parousia. Gaius is generally supposed to have accepted the Fourth Gospel, as Hippolytus quotes it against him. But if the Muratorian Canon does represent the list of books received at

Rome, that list was not unquestioned. The dispute between dignitaries of an orthodox church as to whether the Apocalypse was canonical or heretical, startling as it is to our notions, was probably less bitter and not more important than the questions which afterwards divided Hippolytus and Callistus: both of whom were bishops, both of repute as divines in their own day, and recognised as saints and martyrs by the later Church.

III. Dionysius of Alexandria (bishop A.D. 249—265), the most famous of the famous and holy men who proceeded from the school of Origen, had, it is plain, received the Apocalypse[1] without question, like his master, as one of the New Testament Scriptures recognised by the Church. But, in what seems to have been a later work[2], he had occasion to discuss the question critically. He recapitulates the arguments of those who rejected the book, with special reference no doubt to Gaius, and probably to the so-called Alogi. The argument sounds a little like theirs, as quoted by St Epiphanius, "that the title is false: for, they say, it is not John's, nor yet is it a Revelation, being completely veiled by the thick curtain of ignorance."

But Dionysius himself treats the question in exactly the spirit, at once devout and critical, in which such questions ought to be treated: and the result is, that he sweeps away the bad arguments against St John's authorship, and states the good ones in a form that really has never been improved upon between his day and ours. Those who denied the canonicity and orthodoxy of the book had only two grounds to go upon—its obscurity, and its alleged description of the Kingdom of Christ as earthly. Now on the latter point St Dionysius thoroughly sympathised with the objectors: he had engaged in a controversy with Nepos, an Egyptian bishop who maintained millenarian views, and succeeded in convincing him and his followers that they were wrong. But Dionysius saw that it was neither reverent nor critical to make the authority of the book stand or fall with a particular interpretation of a particular passage in it. To the charge of obscurity he replies, "Even if I do not under-

[1] *Ep. ad Hermamm.*, *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* VII. X. 1.
[2] *On the Promises*, *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* VII. XXV.

stand, I yet conceive some deeper sense to lie in the words. Not measuring and judging these things by private reasoning, but giving the chief weight to faith, I have supposed it too high to be comprehended by me: and I do not reject these things which I have not seen, but admire them the more, because I have not." He then expresses his own opinion, and the grounds for it, as follows:

"That he was called John, and that this writing is John's, I will not dispute: for I agree that it is the work of a holy and inspired man. Still, I would not readily admit that this John is the Apostle, the son of Zebedee, the brother of James, the author of the Gospel that bears the title According to John, and of the Catholic Epistle. I argue from the temper of the two, from the style of the language, and from what is called the purport of the book, that they are not the same. For the Evangelist never introduces his own name, nor proclaims himself, either in the Gospel or in the Epistle. St John nowhere [speaks of the Apostle by name?] either as being himself or as another: but the writer of the Revelation puts himself forward at the very beginning: 'The Revelation of Jesus Christ, which He gave to Him, to shew unto His Servants shortly. And He sent and signified it by His Angel to His Servant John, who bare witness of the Word of God and His testimony, whatsoever he saw.' Then he also writes an Epistle: 'John to the seven Churches which are in Asia; grace be to you and peace.' But the Evangelist has not written his name even at the beginning of the Catholic Epistle, but begins without preamble with the mystery of the divine revelation itself: 'That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes.' For on account of this revelation the Lord also called Peter blessed; saying, 'Blessed art thou, Simon bar-Jona: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but My heavenly Father.' But neither in the second and third Epistles current as John's, short as they are, is the name of John put forward, but 'the Elder' is written without name. But this writer has not even thought it enough, when he has named himself once for all, but takes it up again: 'I John, your

brother, and partaker with you in the tribulation and kingdom and in the patience of Christ, was in the isle that is called Patmos, for the Word of God and the testimony of Jesus.' And again, near the end, he says this: 'Blessed is he that keepeth the words of the prophecy of this book; and I John who see and hear these things.' Now that it is a John who writes this, we ought to believe on his own word; but what John is uncertain. For he has not said, as in many places of the Gospel, that he is the Disciple beloved of Jesus, nor he who leaned upon His breast, nor the brother of James, nor that he was eye- and ear-witness of the Lord: for he would have said some of these things which I have mentioned, if he had wished to indicate himself clearly. But, instead of any of these, he calls himself our brother and partaker with us, and a witness (or martyr) of Jesus, and blessed as seeing and hearing the revelations. But I suppose there were many of the same name as John the Apostle, who for their love for him, admiration, and desire to imitate him and to be beloved like him of the Lord, were glad to assume the same name, as Paul and Peter are frequent names among the children of the faithful[1]. There is in fact another John in the Acts of the Apostles, who was surnamed Mark[2]; whom Barnabas and Paul took with them, of whom it says again, 'And they had also John to their minister.' But whether he is the writer, I would not say: for it is written that he did not come with them into Asia, but 'Paul and his company set sail from Paphos, and came to Perga in Pamphylia; and John departed from them and returned to Jerusalem.' But I think that there was another John among those who had

[1] Of course this is an anachronism. John was a common Jewish name, and no doubt many Jewish Johns became Christians: but it had not had time to become a common Christian name, used for love of the Apostle, till long after the date of the Revelation.

[2] Apparently it did not occur to St Dionysius to identify this Mark with the evangelist, the founder of his own Church. Otherwise we should have had the views of an excellent ancient critic as to the relation between the styles of the Second Gospel and the Apocalypse. Volkmar has discovered some points of resemblance between the two; and his hypothesis, though never widely accepted, still continues to be discussed.

been in Asia: for in fact they say that there are *two tombs at Ephesus, each called that of John.* And further, from their thoughts, language, and composition, this may reasonably be considered a different person from the others. For the Gospel and the Epistle harmonise with one another, and begin alike; the one 'In the beginning was the Word,' the other 'That which was from the beginning.' The one says, 'And the Word became flesh, and dwelt among us, and we beheld His glory, glory as of the Only-begotten from the Father:' the other the same a little varied: 'That which we have heard, that which we have seen with our eyes, that which we beheld, and our hands handled, concerning the Word of life: and the life was manifested.' For this is his prelude to his main contention, as he makes plain in what follows, against those who said that the Lord had not come in the flesh: wherefore he continues carefully: 'And we bear witness of that which we have seen, and declare unto you the life, the eternal [life], which was with the Father, and was manifested unto us: that which we have seen and heard declare we unto you.' He keeps close to himself, and does not withdraw from his announcement, and sets forth all by means of the same headings and names, of which we will briefly mention some. He who studies the books carefully will find in each frequently *life*, *light*, repulse of *darkness;* constantly *truth*, *grace*, *joy*, the *flesh and blood* of the Lord, the *judgement*, the *forgiveness of sins*, the *love of God* towards us, the commandment for us to *love one another*, the duty of *keeping all the commandments*, the condemnation of the *world*, the *Devil*, the *Antichrist:* the promise of the Holy Spirit, the adoption on the part of God, the constant demand of *faith* on our part, the Father and the Son everywhere: altogether, by every possible mark, we are allowed to see the same colouring in the Gospel and the Epistle. But compared with these the Revelation is utterly different and strange, neither touching nor approaching (one may almost say) any of these, nor having a syllable in common with them. Nor again has either the Epistle (I pass over the Gospel) any recollection or thought of the Revelation, or the Revelation of the Epistle: whereas Paul in his Epistles

has given some hint of his revelations, which he did not write separately. Further, one may also argue from the difference of language of the Gospel and Epistle compared with the Revelation. For they are written, not only without error in the Greek language, but with the greatest literary skill in the words, the reasonings, the arrangements of the exposition: far from there being any barbarous word, ungrammatical phrase, or in fact vulgarisms of any sort found there. For he had, as it seems, both forms of the Word, the Lord having granted him both, the word of knowledge and that of expression. But to this author I will not deny that he had seen a revelation, and received knowledge and prophecy; but I can see that his dialect and language are not correct Greek, but that he uses barbaric constructions, sometimes ungrammatical. These it is not necessary now to recount: for I do not say this for ridicule—let no one suppose it—but only defining the unlikeness of the writings."

The only ancient critic who adds anything to this forcible argument against the unity of authorship of the Revelation and the Gospel is Eusebius. He calls attention (*H. E.* III. xxxix. 4) to a passage of Papias, where he distinguishes, apparently, from the Apostle St John another Disciple of the Lord, whom he calls "John the Elder" or "Presbyter;" thus giving direct evidence of what, in St Dionysius, is not much more than a conjecture—the existence at Ephesus, or at least in proconsular Asia, of *two* leaders of the Christian Church, both named John. Lücke among other modern critics has forcibly expanded one part of St Dionysius' argument: the Seer of the Apocalypse nowhere implies that he has known Christ after the flesh, or indeed that apart from his visions he has any personal claim to authority in the churches: the Evangelist and the writer of the First Epistle claims unmistakeably to have been an eyewitness of the Lord's earthly life: and he writes to his little children with the authority as well as the love of a father. The contrast is the more significant because, as St Dionysius observes, a kind of self-assertion seems to mark the Seer, a kind of self-suppression the Evangelist.

To judge by Eusebius there was little disposition in ancient times to accept the compromise suggested by St Dionysius:

those who regarded the Revelation as a canonical work regarded it as the work of the son of Zebedee. Though Eusebius speaks often on the subject it is hard to ascertain either his own judgement or the prevailing opinion of his contemporaries. Probably both still leant in favour of the Apocalypse: he puts the hypothesis that the book is genuine first, when he mentions the question: in the sermon at the dedication of the church at Tyre (which is reported *H. E.* x. iv.) the magnificence of the church is a figure of the glory of Jerusalem above: and the preacher seems to have the New Jerusalem of the Revelation in his mind throughout (see especially §§ 11, 12), though his quotations are all taken from the Old Testament. One thing is clear: though there was a well-known class of books whose genuineness was disputed, no one was content to include the Revelation in it: the *Antilegomena* might or might not be apostolic or canonical; even if they were not, they did not necessarily cease to be edifying: but the contemporaries of Eusebius felt that a book which claimed so much as the Apocalypse must either have the highest authority or none.

When the generation which had lived through the Diocletian persecution passed away, the balance of opinion shifted for a time. It was felt that the question was rather "Is the Revelation one of the books acknowledged as sacred by the living Church of our day?" than "Is it so clearly attested by ancient tradition to have come from the Apostle John that all internal difficulties of whatever kind ought to be disregarded?" Nothing like the actual conversion of the civilised world seemed to have been foretold, and all that had been foretold seemed to have become almost impossible. Only while the empire was heathen was it easy to expect a new Nero, and to look for a millennial reign of the saints to follow upon his overthrow. For this reason or for others the churches of Asia Minor and Palestine rejected the book. St Cyril of Jerusalem in speaking of the last times is careful to remind his hearers that his doctrine rests not on the apocryphal Revelation but on the canonical book of Daniel: yet he speaks of Antichrist as the eighth king, which is obviously taken from the Apocalypse; and this though he warns his cate-

chumens never to read at home books which are not read in the church. St Gregory of Nazianzus is equally inconsistent. He closes a list of canonical books which excludes the Apocalypse, with the warning that none other is genuine; yet he quotes 'John in the Apocalypse.' St Gregory of Nyssa (II. 44) in an ordination homily quotes the address to the Angel of Laodicea with the words τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ Ἰωάννου ἐν ἀποκρύφοις: where it seems as if an 'apocryphal' book was too sacred rather than too worthless for public reading. Both the Gregories and St Basil quote Rev. i. 1, in controversy with the Arians, and apply it to the Son; all probably follow St Athanasius, who held the book to be canonical, as did all his successors. In spite of the authority of the Church of Alexandria the general opinion of the East was still against the book in the beginning of the fifth century, when St Jerome wrote to Dardanus. Though Epiphanius went back to the traditional view, he thought that the *Alogi* and those who perpetuated their doctrine would have been excusable, if they had treated the Apocalypse, though genuine and inspired, as too mysterious for public reading.

From the time of St Epiphanius no writers of weight questioned the authority of the book in the East; and in the West the two great doctors St Jerome and St Augustine repeatedly and emphatically adhered to the unbroken tradition of the Latin Church. But the echoes of past disputes still had a certain influence: the Nestorian Canon is still defective because the Greek Canon was defective at the time of the separation: the Jacobites seem after the separation to have adopted the Alexandrian Canon, and the Syriac translation of the book which is grotesquely literal belongs to them. Even in the West Junilius, a contemporary of Primasius, was influenced at second-hand by the hesitations of the school of Nisibis. The Fourth Council of Toledo, 633 A.D., after mentioning that many (probably in the East) still rejected its authority, decrees that it is to be recognised in the public services between Easter and Pentecost. Oddly enough Charles the Great in a capitulary of 789 A.D. goes back to the Canon of the Council of Laodicea 363 A.D., which is generally supposed to have condemned the book. The capit-

ulary did not influence theologians, but it may have influenced lectionaries.

As the Reformers were more or less under the influence of Erasmus and the Renaissance, it was inevitable that the canonicity of books which had been questioned in the first three centuries should be questioned again. Luther, who knew that tradition was not unanimous, felt at liberty to give full expression to his personal dislike of the book, as he had done in dealing with the Epistle of St James. For a time it seemed possible that the Protestant Canon would draw a broad line between the undisputed and disputed books of the New Testament. Several causes concurred to avert this danger. Melancthon, who wished to minimise the points of difference between Christians, persuaded Luther to make the preface to the translation in his second edition much less contemptuous and combative than it had been in the first. The mass of the Protestants adopted and exaggerated the mediæval theory that Papal Rome was the apocalyptic Babylon, and completed it by the still more questionable theory that the Pope was the Antichrist. It was discovered as soon as Luther was dead that he had been the Angel with the Everlasting Gospel; and this was set forth in his funeral sermon. When exegesis had entered this path it soon became clear that the Apocalypse was as valuable for Protestant polemics as the Epistle to the Hebrews for Protestant dogmatics. It would have cost much to give up either, and if the question of canonicity had not been rightly decided in the fifth century, there was no rational prospect of deciding it better in the sixteenth. It is otherwise with the question of authorship, though it is probable that those who found the book less edifying than they could wish, and so were moved to question its canonicity, were glad to shelter themselves under doubts of its apostolic authorship.

IV. No one in ancient times seems to have cared to question the inspiration, or reject the authority, of the Revelation, except those who, in the anti-millenarian controversy, thought it necessary to deny its orthodoxy. Thus the view that it is indeed a genuine work, belonging to the main stream of Christian thought, but that it can claim no higher inspiration than that of a sub-

jective enthusiasm, does not present itself till modern times, nor then except on the part of rationalists: it involves matter of controversy which turns on *a priori* grounds, and cannot be discussed here: except so far as the question of interpretation involves the further question, "Have the Seer's predictions been fulfilled, or have Christians reason to expect that they will be?" By this test, no doubt, we are justified in judging the claims of what professes to be an inspired prophecy (Deut. xviii. 22): but we must ascertain *what* it is that is foretold, before we can judge whether it has "followed or come to pass," or is in the way to do so. For the present, it will be enough to say, that practically the whole Church has agreed to recognise the authority of the book, and that this ought to compel us to recognise it: though its authority does not, perhaps, stand so high as that of those books "of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church.' Indeed, both in ancient and modern times, there has been a disposition to treat it with greater reserve, if not greater distrust, than the other canonical books. In the English Church till 1872, while the rest of the New Testament was "read over orderly every year thrice, beside the Epistles and Gospels," out of the Apocalypse there were "only certain Proper Lessons appointed upon divers feasts." And something similar seems to have been the case in earlier times, from the fact that, while the theologians of Alexandria—even St Dionysius—acknowledged the canonical authority of the book, it was not translated till a comparatively late date into either of the vernacular dialects of Egypt. In the Greek-speaking Churches also it never came into general ecclesiastical use; and for this reason, probably, ancient copies of it are rare as compared with the other books of Scripture.

Conceding then the inspiration and canonicity of the book we approach without prejudice the question of its authorship. Its antiquity is undoubted, and the only person besides the Apostle suggested as its author was a personal "disciple of the Lord," so that we can readily conceive his writing by divine inspiration. We have only to judge, whether the *internal* evidence against its being by the author of the Gospel and Epistles is so strong,

as to set aside the great body of *external* evidence, whereby all alike are ascribed to St John the Apostle.

V. The theory has been advanced in modern times, that the Revelation may be the work of the Apostle, but that if so the Gospel and Epistles cannot be: that they may at most be written by John the Presbyter, or some one else at Ephesus who inherited a genuine apostolic tradition. But to this the total absence of ancient support is an enormous objection. The question of the authorship of the Johannine writings was discussed, from the second century onwards, both from a theological and from a critical point of view. Every theory was suggested but this: this could not fail to have been suggested, if there had been the smallest thread of tradition that could be discovered in its favour. No doubt the Revelation is rather more like than the Gospel to what we might have expected to be the work of the Galilean Apostle, the Son of Thunder: but the notion that, within 50 years of the Apostle's death probably within 18 -[1] the Gospel was accepted as his, when it was not his, becomes all the more incredible, if there was a genuine work of his current in the same churches where the other was first circulated.

The internal evidence, moreover, for the apostolic authorship of the Gospel, though not obvious, is on the whole preponderating: on this question see the Prolegomena to the Gospel. If therefore the unity of authorship of the two be denied, it must be the Revelation that is non-apostolic.

We return therefore to the decisive question, "Do St Dionysius' arguments prove diversity of authorship, in the face of the strong external evidence of unity?" And on the whole, strong as they are, they seem hardly sufficient for this. It is a very extreme measure to set aside contemporary evidence to the authorship of a book; especially of a book ascribed to an author who had been prominent and universally known among the community

[1] The Epistle of St Polycarp to the Philippians dates, if entirely genuine, from 116 A.D. The writer quotes the First Epistle of St John. Though he does not name the author, this makes it pretty certain that, when he wrote, the Epistle and Gospel were both received as authoritative; while it makes it probable that both were already rightly ascribed to the son of Zebedee.

who received the book as his. No doubt there would be a real tendency to be over hasty in assigning to a venerable name a work that claimed, and that deserved, high authority: and thus a really inspired book, written by a namesake of an Apostle, might easily be ascribed to the Apostle *by future generations*: but hardly by the generation that had known the Apostle himself, and received from him his genuine writings.

Moreover, strong as is the internal evidence *against* the unity of authorship, it is not altogether so strong as it seems at first sight: while internal evidence *for* the unity is by no means wanting. The arguments of St Dionysius, and of other critics who have maintained his view, may be divided under two heads, (*a*) the unlikeness of *style and grammar*, and (*b*) the unlikeness of *theological terms and ideas*, between the Revelation and the other Johannine writings.

Indeed, a third element of unlikeness is sometimes alleged, between the moral tone and temper of the two writers. But this is too delicate a consideration, too much a matter of subjective feeling, for much weight to be given to it: and, as a matter of fact, it is not put forward by those who have the best right to be heard. The character of a saint, at least of the greatest saints, is a complex and many sided one. Those who know most of the mind of the Spirit, and the saintly character which is His work, do not find much difficulty in forming a harmonious conception of the character of St John[1], while taking in, as one element, his authorship of the Revelation. And in fact, it is quite a mistake to think that the Apostle of love was incapable of severe condemnation. Not to mention the imperfectly disciplined temper shewn in St Luke ix. 54[2], we see in the Gospel itself, in the Epistles, and in the best authenticated traditions of his later life[3],

[1] See Keble's stanza on the title page of this book, and the whole hymn containing it.

[2] *Possibly ib.* ver. 49: St John was not less forward than the other Apostles in silencing the unknown man, though he appears to have been quicker than they to discern that the Lord was not certain to approve their zeal.

[3] E.g. the story of his fleeing from Cerinthus in the bath, *ap.* S. Iren. iii. iii. 4.

that his zeal could be stern, even fierce, upon occasion. See in the Gospel i. 10, 11, ii. 24—5, iii. 18, 19, iv. 20, v. 14, 38—47, vi. 70, vii. 7, viii. 15, 21—24, 38—47, ix. 39—41, x. 26, xii. 37—43, 48: in the First Epistle ii. 15—19, 22, iii. 1 fin., 8, 13—15, iv. 3, 5, v. 16 fin.: in the Second, ver. 10, and in the Third, vv. 9, 10; as evidence that the Evangelist sees nothing inconsistent with the "spirit he is of" in the stern condemnation of sin and unbelief or misbelief, either by the Saviour or by himself in His name. On the other hand, the tender charity of the Evangelist is not absent from the Apocalypse, though it may be admitted that the book is, in its primary character, a vision of judgement: see i. 5 fin., 9, vii. 14—17, xxi. 3, 4, besides many other passages where the tenderness, if less unmixed, is perceptible.

When we come to *theological conceptions* it is to be remembered that as a reverent Christian temper will expect and find substantial unity of doctrine in all New Testament writers, differences in the way of presenting doctrine will have more importance for a believer than for a rationalist. For instance, a rationalist, who thought that the Apocalypse and the Gospel both contained a doctrine of the Person of the Lord Jesus not to be found in other books of the New Testament, would find in this a presumption of unity of authorship; while a believer would attach more weight in proportion to the fact that the Seer leans much more upon Old Testament prophecy than the Evangelist. Subject to this it may be said that the differences in the manner of presenting truth, though real, are not decisive against the unity of authorship. In one great and important point the two books do coincide not only in their doctrine but in the method of presenting it. It is in these books only, that the name "The *Word*" is ascribed to the Lord Jesus. It is true, that the coincidence is not entire: in the Revelation (xix. 13) He is called "the Word of God:" in the Epistle (i. 1) "the Word of life," if there the term be used personally: and in the Gospel "the Word" absolutely; but there the context suggests that if the ellipsis be filled up, it can only be in the same manner as in the Revelation.

The case is similar as regards the description of the Son of

God as a Lamb. Is. liii. 7 is quoted in Acts viii. 32; and He is *likened* to a lamb in 1 Pet. i. 19: but He is not *called* a Lamb except in John i. 29, 36 and in the Apocalypse *passim*. But in the Gospels (and in the other passages) the word is Ἀμνός: in the Apocalypse it is Ἀρνίον, which is used in the Gospel, xxi. 15, not of Christ but of members of the Church.

Of the 18 or 19 characteristic Johannine phrases enumerated by Dionysius, we certainly meet with few in the Revelation in exactly the same form or with the same frequency: but, in some form, we meet with nearly all. (1) We never have the phrase "eternal life," but we constantly hear of "life" as an attribute of heavenly gifts—the Book of Life (cf. Phil. iv. 3), the Crown of Life (cf. James i. 12), the Tree of Life, and the Water of Life; which last only differs in construction, not in sense, from St John's Gospel iv. 10—14, vii. 38. (2) The word "light" occurs rarely, and hardly ever in a directly spiritual sense: yet xxi. 11, 14 shew that the image was one that seemed to the Seer natural and appropriate. (3) "Darkness" does not occur as a substantive, and the cognate verbs in viii. 12, ix. 2, xvi. 10 are images of punishment rather than of sin. (4) Ἀλήθεια does not occur, nor does ἀληθής. But the rarer word ἀληθινός is characteristic of all the Johannine writings, and rare in the rest of the N.T. As an epithet of God or His Son, we meet it in the Gospel vii. 28, xvii. 3, and virtually i. 9, vi. 32, in the Ep. I. v. 20 (three times), and in the Revelation iii. 7, 14, vi. 10, xix. 11: nowhere else but 1 Thess. i. 9. And the use of the word in the Gospel xix. 35 is very like that in Rev. xix. 9, xxi. 5, xxii. 6. (5) "Grace" is not really a frequent word in St John. Except in the salutation at the head of the second Epistle, which is paralleled by Rev. i. 4, xxii. 21, we have it only in the Gospel i. 14—17. Hence it proves nothing that it does not (except in the two places cited) occur in the Revelation. (6) "Joy," and especially the phrase "joy fulfilled" is, on the contrary, a phrase characteristic of the Gospel and Epistles, and absent from the Revelation. Even the verb "rejoice" is rare; it occurs only twice (xi. 10, xix. 7), and only once of *holy* joy. Here then is a real diversity. (7) "The flesh and blood" of the Lord are mentioned in the Gospel i. 14,

vi. 51 sqq., xix. 34, in the Epistles I. i. 7, iv. 2, v. 6—8, II. 7. For the most part, these passages relate to the doctrine of the Incarnation and—what is closely connected with this—the doctrine of the Sacraments: the latter subject is not mentioned in the Revelation, and the word "flesh" is not used in connexion with the former. But in Ep. I. i. 7 we have a closer parallel in thought and imagery to Rev. vii. 14, xxii. 14 (true text) than anywhere else in the N.T.: see also i. 5 (whatever be the true reading) and v. 9. (8) The *word* "judgement" is as frequent in the Revelation as in the Gospel, more so than in the Epistle: and the *thought* of the Divine Judgement is, of course, all-pervading. It is a question of interpretation, not a self-evident point of style, whether the *nature* of the Divine Judgement is conceived in quite the same way in the different books. (9) Ἄφεσις τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν as a phrase does not occur in the Revelation nor in the Gospel or Epistles: in the Gospel however we have ἀφιέναι τὰς ἁμαρτίας in xx. 23, and in the First Epistle in i. 9, ii. 12: and it is this, doubtless, that St Dionysius is thinking of. The *idea* of course is frequent throughout the N.T.—certainly not absent in the Revelation. (10) "The love of God," as distinct from that of Christ (see i. 5, iii. 9, and, with a verbal variation found also in the Gospel, iii. 19) is only spoken of once, and that indirectly, in the Revelation (xx. 9). Here then is a real difference of manner and language—*not* of temper nor of theological thought, for God's electing love, as the first source of man's salvation, is as plainly set forth in Rev. xiii. 8, xvii. 8, xx. 15 as anywhere in Scripture. (11) The command to "love one another" is probably, though not certainly, on the same footing. The "love" of ii. 4, 19 *may* be mutual brotherly love, but probably is special love to Christ. If so, here is a very great difference indeed from St John's acknowledged writings—Christian love or charity being absolutely unnamed. (12) The phrase "keeping His Commandments," on the contrary, is as emphatic if not as frequent in the Revelation as in the Gospel and Epistle: see xii. 17, xiv. 12 (*not* xxii. 14; even if the received text were right, the phrase in it is varied). (13—15) The "world" is never used in the Revelation

in an ethical sense, only in a physical (xiii. 8, xvii. 8: xi. 15 is not really an exception): and the "Devil" and "Antichrist" are usually designated, not by those names (see however xii. 9, xx. 2), but as "the Dragon" and "the Beast." As however the whole subject of the book is, God's judgement on the sinful world, on the Devil, and on Antichrist, this difference is no evidence at all against unity of authorship. Of course the two books differ in kind and method; and, allowing for this, we find a unity not a diversity between their thoughts. (16) "The promise of the Spirit," spoken of in the Gospel cc. xiv.—xvi. &c. is not mentioned in similar terms in the Revelation: and "the seven Spirits of God" of Rev. i. 4, iii. 1, iv. 5, v. 6 are decidedly unlike the Gospel in language, whatever be the relation between the two theologically. "The Spirit," of the Epistles to the Churches (ii. 7, &c.) and of xiv. 13, xxii. 17, is indeed spoken of in a way like enough to that of the Gospel and Epistles: but the likeness is not greater than the common belief of the whole Church would necessitate. On the other hand, there is a likeness perhaps rather more individual between Ep. I. iv. 1--6, and Rev. xvi. 13, 14. (17) The *word* "adoption" is nowhere used in the Johannine writings, being in the N. T. peculiar to St Paul. We have the *thought* of sonship in Rev. xxi. 7; but it is decidedly commoner in the Gospel and Epistle, where also it appears as a present blessing, while in the Apocalypse it seems to be reserved for the world to come. Here then the discrepancy, though not very great, is real. (18) The word "faith" occurs four times in the Revelation (ii. 13, 19, xiii. 10, xiv. 12), *once* in the First Epistle (v. 4), and *nowhere* in the Gospel. Here St Dionysius fails to notice that while he is speaking of the *substantive* πίστις, the Evangelist uses the *verb* πιστεύω: it is quite true that the verb is more prominent in the Gospel and the Epistle than the substantive is in the Revelation; but the complete absence of the substantive from the Gospel and of the verb from the Revelation is hardly more than an accident in either case. (19) The names of "the Father" and "the Son" are never coupled as correlative, or used absolutely, in the Revelation, as they are constantly in the Gospel and Epistles, and

even in our Lord's saying reported in St Matt. xi. 27, St Luke x. 22. The nearest approach is xiv. 1 (true text). Christ is called "the Son of God" in ii. 18, and speaks of "My Father," as in the Gospels, in ii. 27, iii. 5, 21: but such expressions as these, and i. 6, belong to Christian theology, not Johannine phraseology.

On the whole then it appears that the difference of ideas is much less extensive than it seems. In the points numbered (3), (6), (10), (11), and perhaps (9), (16), (17) there is a real difference in the thoughts, but otherwise the matter resolves itself mainly into a difference of language—sometimes so merely a matter of style and grammar as that one book has an abstract word and the other the cognate concrete.

(*b*) Thus we pass to the other branch of the argument—the unlikeness in *style and language* of the Revelation to the other Johannine writings. Now this unlikeness is undeniable, though it has been overstated, and some people, by refuting over-statements, have seemed to minimise it. It may perhaps be said that St Dionysius overstates it, not by exaggerating (as some modern critics have done) the peculiarities and harshnesses of the Revelation, but by overestimating the literary power shewn in the Gospel and Epistles. It is quite true, that the author of these has a sufficient mastery of language for the adequate expression of his sublime and profound thoughts. Moreover, he writes in correct grammatical Greek, with less trace of Hebrew idiom than most of the N. T. writers: and he is rather fond of refining a point, sometimes of some theological importance, e.g. viii. 58, by the use of some delicate distinction of the Greek language, often quite untranslateable: e.g. ἐρωτᾶν and αἰτεῖν in ch. xvi., ποιμαίνειν and βόσκειν, ἀγαπᾶν and φιλεῖν in ch. xxi[1]. And yet

[1] These words all occur in sayings of the Lord, and, even when they can be translated into Aramaic so as to shew the distinction, it never seems as though the Aramaic were the original. This so far tends to prove that the Lord and His Disciples, including the Evangelist, spoke Greek freely and habitually though not exclusively. There is evidence that the Rabbis objected to written Aramaic translations of the Old Testament, on the ground that the Greek translations were all that was wanted. If all classes in Palestine above the lowest

he does not write like a master of the Greek language. He does not write in the literary dialect of his time, echoing the language of the classical period, as St Luke does when he chooses: he does not, like the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, write under the influence of the Alexandrine school of Hellenising Jewish literature: if his theology has something in common with Philo's, his style is unaffected by him. He says what he has to say in short, weighty, simple and rather unconnected sentences: his Greek is correct, because he never ventures on constructions complicated enough to risk a blunder.

The language of the Apocalypse, on the other hand, is fairly characterised by Dionysius. The Greek indeed is not so ungrammatical as it seems, nor are all its offences against the laws of grammar to be ascribed to ignorance or inability to write correctly: see i. 4 (true text) for a solecism obviously conscious and intentional. Moreover the language has laws of its own (e.g. as to the apposition of nouns, the connexion of participles with finite verbs) which, though they are not the laws recognised by classical or even by Hellenistic Greek, still are laws of language, and are observed with fair consistency. Still the fact remains that the Apocalypse is written in a language which, however well adapted to its subject and purpose, cannot be called good Greek, even when tried by the peculiar standard applied to the New Testament. It seems the work of a man who thinks in Hebrew, and turns the Hebrew sentences embodying his thoughts into Greek, not according to the traditional rules by which, since the composition of the Septuagint, a compromise had been made between the genius of the two languages, but quite independently, by rules of his own making.

Some of the grammatical peculiarities of the book will be pointed out in the Notes: it is impossible to discuss them fully here. With a few exceptions (see on xii. 7) they do not affect translation. It must suffice here to say, that *primâ facie* the style of the Revelation is so utterly unlike that of St John's

were bilingual, it was of course much easier for devout persons to learn to read the Old Testament in Greek than in unpointed Hebrew.

Gospel and Epistles, as to make it all but incredible that they are the work of the same author[1]. We say *all but* incredible: for it is just conceivable that a man may change his style entirely, so that his writings of different periods shall seem like the writings of different men[2].

As Greek is the original language of the discourses of the Fourth Gospel, those who believe that Aramaic was practically the one popular language in Palestine must conclude that they are at most inspired paraphrases of the thoughts of the Lord. Upon this hypothesis it might not be impossible to reconcile the conflict between external and internal evidence by assigning the Apocalypse and the other Johannine writings to quite different periods. If we suppose (see the next chapter) that the Revelation was written by St John the Apostle between A.D. 68—70, and the Gospel and Epistles A.D. 80—100, we get a credible view of the history of the Apostle's mind, or at least of his style. A Jew of Palestine, habitually familiar with both the biblical Hebrew and the Aramaic vernacular, he was perhaps altogether ignorant of Greek till the age of 50 or 60. Then, being called on to take the pastoral charge of Greek-speaking Churches, he addressed them in their own language, which he had learnt as far as he could: but he refused to let his imperfect knowledge of the language hamper or even modify his expression of the message entrusted to him: he would say what he had to say *somehow*, even if he did not know how to say it in grammatical Greek. But, when he had lived from ten to thirty years in the midst of these Greek-speaking Churches, he learnt

[1] This inference is hardly shaken by the noteworthy though inconspicuous coincidences detected by Weiss, some of which have been mentioned in the notes. Upon almost any hypothesis the Johannine writings are the peculiar treasure of the Church of Ephesus: such similarities might therefore be explained on the hypothesis of Weizsäcker that the Revelation and the Gospel are both works of the school of St John.

[2] The style of Carlyle in his early writings is comparatively simple and conventional: his abrupt and vivid mannerism developed itself later. Again, it would be doubtful *à priori*, if the facts were not certain, whether the same man could have written the limpid verse of Blake's *Songs of Innocence and Experience* and the Ossianic prose of his Apocalyptic books.

their language thoroughly, and became able to compose in it with vigour and correctness, if not with the mastery of a native. It is quite true that "the Greek of the Gospel and Epistle is not the Greek of the Apocalypse in a maturer state" (Alford), but it is conceivable that the man who had the one to unlearn might learn the other.

The alternative, if both groups of writings be rightly ascribed to the Apostle, is to suppose that the Gospel and Epistles represent his habitual style in which he spoke simply and easily so that his amanuenses or editors had no difficulty in smoothing away little incorrectnesses, if there were any, while the Apocalypse represents his language when still exalted by his visions: at such times, it may be, his sense of the sublime overstrained his knowledge of Greek, and disciples hesitated to correct the words of one who was plainly speaking in the Spirit.

CHAPTER II.

DATE AND PLACE OF COMPOSITION.

THE book itself tells us (i. 9) where the vision recorded in it was seen: it does not follow that the record was written in the same place. Such is, however, the probable conclusion. The English reader might indeed understand from the words "I *was* in the isle" that the writer was no longer there: and tradition, such as it is, seems to regard the book as written after the Seer's release. But the indications of the book itself are decidedly in favour of the composition in Patmos. Ἐγενόμην ἐν τῇ νήσῳ really means, "I had *come to be* in the island," and does not in the least imply that he had left it: just as Daniel might equally have written "I *became* dumb" (x. 15) if, like Ezekiel and Zacharias, he had continued so for a long time, and had written in that state. And in i. 11, 19, xiv. 13, xix. 9, xxi. 5, and still more x. 4, it seems almost implied that the successive visions were written down as fast as they were seen; see however note on x. 4. Moreover the command to write and send to the Seven Churches seems inconsistent with the Seer being, at

the time of writing, resident at one of them and free to visit the rest personally: and the style of the book, so far as any argument can be built on it, suggests that it was *written* in the same ecstatic state of mind in which the vision was unquestionably *seen*. Altogether, it seems most probable that the book was written at Patmos, but the point is one of no great importance.

This cannot be said of the question of the date; which is much disputed, with strong arguments on both sides. We have already seen (p. xvii.) that there is very strong external evidence for ascribing the Apocalypse to the last three or four years of the Apostle's life, A.D. 95—98. "It was seen," says St Irenaeus, "...at the end of the reign of Domitian;" if it was not written till his return from exile, this was probably in the reign of Nerva. It is needless to quote later writers who say the same, for it is probable that most if not all of them derived their belief from this passage of Irenaeus. But it is certain, that his testimony was generally accepted by the Church at large, and that there is no trace of controversy as to the date of the work, independent of the controversy as to its authorship.

Nevertheless, there are statements in early Christian writers which seem to shew that the tradition on this point was not absolutely unanimous. Several of the earliest who refer to St John's exile avoid naming the emperor who condemned him, while the earliest of all who refer to the book do not, as it happens, mention the fact of the exile. If the evidence of St Irenaeus is not exactly contradicted, still less can we say that it is confirmed.

The evidence nearest in time to his is negative and cannot be strongly pressed, but upon the whole harmonises with the date under Domitian. St Clement of Alexandria introduces into his treatise Τίς ὁ σωζόμενος πλούσιος; a μῦθος, in the way which was fashionable with philosophers since the time of Prodicus and Plato. This μῦθος, which he assures us is something more[1],

[1] μῦθον οὐ μῦθον ἀλλ' ὄντα λόγον (Clem. *Q. D. S.* XLII. [45 B]; Eus. *H. E.* III. XXIII. 4) may, like 'a real story,' mean anything from a well-known legend about a real person to an accurate statement of historical fact.

is the beautiful and often repeated story of St John reclaiming a young convert who had become a robber chieftain. He dates the beginning of the story "when, after the death of the *tyrant*, he had returned from the isle of Patmos to Ephesus." Now we know that Domitian sentenced many Christians to banishment, and that they were released after his death by his successor Nerva: moreover, Domitian's character, and that of his government, was far more likely to make a Greek writer describe him as a "tyrant[1]" than that of any other early emperor. The only other emperor whose victims we can suppose to have been, as a matter of course, released on his death was Nero: he certainly did persecute the Christians, but we do not hear of banishment as ever inflicted by him, as it certainly was by Domitian.

Yet Clement's story that follows seems far more consistent with a date under (we may say) Vespasian than under Nerva or Trajan. At the later date, St John must have been at least ninety years old, and it is most improbable that his bodily vigour can have been unimpaired. In fact, a still better known legend (though not resting on equally early authority[2]) describes him as being, for some time before his death, entirely decrepit, though fully retaining his mental faculties. But St Clement (and here all tradition agrees with him) describes the Apostle after his exile as making Ephesus indeed his head quarters, but travelling thence in all directions, "in some places to establish bishops, in some to arrange whole churches, and in some to ordain by lot (?) [*κλήρῳ κληροῦσων*] one or more of those indicated by the Spirit." Some months, at least, are implied to have been thus spent: some years seem to be required for the instruction of the young man, his gradual fall into vice, and the time when he is recognised by the Church as "dead to God." But at the end of this time, we find that the local Church, "when some occasion arose, again summoned John:" and not only does he readily make the journey when summoned, but, as soon as

[1] Under the later Empire the word "tyrant" came to be used as modern historians use "usurper." In this sense, neither Nero nor Domitian can be so called.

[2] The legend of "Little children, love one another" is told by no extant author before St Jerome.

he hears of the fall of his disciple, he rides off on horseback to the mountains to seek for him. When the robbers have seized him and (presumably) taken his horse, their captain recognises him and, from shame, takes to flight: then no doubt it is thought remarkable that the Apostle "pursued him at full speed, forgetting his old age:" but this, which would be remarkable in a man of 70, is all but incredible in a man of 97[1]. And finally, it is implied that, before he was restored to the Church, the robber had to pass through a long course of penance through which the Apostle was able to guide and assist him.

Tertullian, in a work apparently orthodox and therefore early (*Praescr. Haer.* 36), which Fuller and Noeldechen date 199 A.D., says that at Rome "the Apostle John, after he had been plunged in burning oil without suffering anything, was banished to an island." He mentions this in close connexion with the martyrdoms of SS. Peter and Paul, which certainly took place under Nero: still it cannot be said that he implies that it was at the same time. But St Jerome (*adv. Jov.* i. 26) quotes Tertullian as saying that, "being put by *Nero* into a jar of boiling oil, he came out cleaner and more vigorous than he went in." Now St Jerome was quite capable of lax quotation, of improving upon his authorities, and of confusing what he inferred from them with what they said. But on the other hand, we know that he used works of Tertullian now lost; and that, unless Nero was really mentioned by Tertullian (or someone else who repeated the same tradition), it would have been far easier to infer from the mention of St John's banishment that his intended martyrdom took place under Domitian, than from the mention of the other Apostles that it took place under Nero. And the banishment, it is quite plain from the extant passage, followed immediately on the miraculous escape from death[2].

[1] If we consider, not St John's appearance in modern pictures, but that he was called to the work of an Apostle at least a year before the Crucifixion, then, as the latter probably took place in A.D. 29, we can hardly date the Apostle's birth later than A.D. 5.

[2] Traces are found in later writers of a tradition ascribing the Apostle's banishment to Nero: but they associate with his banish-

Origen, in his commentary on St Matthew xx. 22 sqq., speaks of "tradition" as teaching that "the Emperor of the Romans condemned John, being a witness" (or "martyr") "for the word of truth, to the isle of Patmos. John," he continues, "teaches us about his own martyrdom, *not telling who condemned him*, saying 'I John...was in the isle that is called Patmos for the word of God and the testimony of Jesus Christ' (Rev. i. 9). And he *seems* to have seen the Revelation in the island." Here it is implied that there was a tradition about St John's banishment, independent of the book itself: perhaps also, that this tradition stated the name of the Emperor who condemned the Saint. But, if Origen knew a tradition on this subject, he does not give it: and, in default of evidence to the contrary, it is presumable that the tradition was the usual or Irenaean one—that if it named anybody it named Domitian.

St Epiphanius twice (*Haer.* li. 12, 33) ascribes St John's banishment to *Claudius*, dating his return also in the same reign. In the former place he says that, "in his advanced old age, after 90 years of his life, after his return from Patmos, which took place under Claudius Caesar, he wrote the Gospel." The simplest explanation of this strange statement is that the writer took from one authority that the Gospel was written after the return from Patmos in advanced old age, and from another that the banishment was the act of Claudius, or perhaps that the Revelation was made in his reign. Our only reason for supposing that the Roman government had begun to take notice of Christianity is the statement of Suetonius that it had occasioned disturbances among the Jews of Rome, which led to their banishment. It is true that Epiphanius does not, like Origen and, by implication, Clement and Tertullian, ascribe the banishment to the personal act of the Emperor: he or his authority may have meant that

ment the composition not of the Apocalypse but of the Gospel; the latter must be almost certainly of the age of Domitian.

These stories seem therefore to have their roots, not in any real tradition reaching back to the time when the facts were known, but to an unreal conventional treatment of sacred history, whereby it was attempted to supply the missing links between the age of the New Testament and that of the fully constituted Church.

when Claudius banished the Jews from Rome the Proconsul of Asia banished St John from Ephesus. Of course the narrative in the Acts leaves no room for any event of the kind: and it is not worth while to guess that Nero is really meant, though of course he took the name of Claudius from his adoptive father, for in fact neither he nor anyone else used the name. Charles I. *might* have been called Charles II. because his father was christened Charles James, but in fact he never was.

The only reason for attaching any weight to the mention of Claudius in St Epiphanius is that he, according to Lipsius, may have been using at first or second hand some apocryphal acts drawn up under the name of Leucius, a real or imaginary disciple of St John, which Zahn thinks may be as old as St Irenaeus. A gnostic writer of that date was still in a position to collect and distort genuine traditions. It is out of the question that the Revelation as a whole should be so early. Grotius, whose chronological analysis of the visions is rather too mechanical, placed the Vision of the Seven Seals under Claudius, identifying the famine foretold by Agabus with that foretold under the Third Seal. Anyone who conjectured that St John prophesied from the days of Claudius to the days of Domitian and received the command, in the days of the latter, to gather all his revelations into one book and send them to the Seven Churches, might reconcile Leucius and St Irenaeus.

The commentary, which goes by the name of St Victorinus, certainly seems to confirm the tradition of St Irenaeus. We have the distinct statement that the Revelation was given in the reign of Domitian, and that the Gospel was written afterwards. Such a statement of itself seems almost too precise to be credible, for Domitian's persecution fell in the close of his reign, and the Gospel cannot have been written afterwards: according to Irenaeus and all authorities St John only just lived into the reign of Trajan, so on this hypothesis the Revelation and Gospel were written so close together that it is hard to see how it could have been known which was written first. Did any fourth century writer know confidently whether St Paul wrote to the Galatians before or after the Corinthians? to the Philippians

before or after the Ephesians and Colossians? On the other hand, if the two works belonged to quite different periods of the Apostle's life, there would have been no more difficulty in remembering the distinction between them than there would have been (even apart from internal evidence) in remembering that between the Pastoral Epistles and those written before St Paul's imprisonment. Possibly a tradition that the Gospel was written after the return from banishment in Patmos (where the Revelation was seen), but before the death of Domitian, might have perpetuated itself alone. In fact we find the statement of date associated with an interpretation of xvii. 10, which, unacceptable as it is, has very much the appearance of being as old as the reign of Trajan.

The "Seven Kings" are identified as Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian, Titus ("five are fallen"): "one is," Domitian, "the other is not yet come, and when he cometh, he must continue a little space," i.e. Nerva, who only reigned two years. To a disinterested reader this explanation needs no refutation. On what principle is the enumeration of the Emperors of Rome (if these be meant by the "kings") to begin with the ephemeral princes of disputed title who struggled with one another through the eighteen months after Nero's death? In popular apprehension, among the provincials at least, the first Roman Emperor was Julius Caesar: in strict constitutional law, the first who held the empire as an established form of government was Augustus. The series of Emperors might legitimately begin with either of these, but with no one later. Obviously there is one only excuse for the interpretation: the interpreter started with a certainty that the Revelation was seen under Domitian and then reckoned backwards and forwards. Even then it is startling that he can have imagined that Trajan was the eighth king, the beast who was and is not, who cometh up out of the deep and goeth into perdition. Trajan was according to the unanimous tradition of antiquity the best of the Roman Emperors: Tertullian, who was never tempted by excess of charity, finds no difficulty in making Trajan illustrate his theory that the good Emperors mitigated the bad laws against

the Christians. It cannot be imagined that an inspired Seer should have meant to represent him as the great enemy of God and righteousness. It is equally incredible that a saint who suffered in the Diocletian persecution, or a commentator writing after it, should have devised such a perverse misconception out of his own head.

But a contemporary who had seen St Ignatius sent, possibly by Trajan's personal order, to feed the lions at Rome, who saw the outbreak of a second and probably a greater Jewish war, who saw Trajan's eastern triumphs ending and his embarrassments beginning might be forgiven for a mistaken hope that the ruin of the Fourth Monarchy which had seemed so near after the fall of Nero was to be accomplished under an Emperor who seemed far more than Nero to be the very incarnation of Rome, to gather up in himself all the terrible power of the Beast whose deadly wound was healed. One cannot even say such an explanation was incredible, while the rebellion of Barcochba seemed to zealots to be shaking the throne of Hadrian. After that time it was increasingly difficult for a theory which identified the arch enemy with Trajan to originate: the wonder is that it survived.

Marcus Aurelius, Severus and Decius, to say nothing of Galerius and Maximin inflicted far more upon the Church than Trajan. Now it is obvious that the contemporaries of Trajan or even Hadrian, though their wishes might warp their interpretation of the Apocalypse, are even better authorities than St Irenaeus for its date. They are it would seem much more deeply committed than he is to the belief that the Seer saw his great vision under Domitian.

Yet their witness is at variance with what in ancient and modern times has been accepted as the obvious sense of the prophecy of the "Seven Kings." If the principle of interpretation here adopted is right—if they are individual Roman Emperors—it can hardly be doubted that they stand for the *first* seven, and that the Apocalypse was seen in the days of the sixth—though there is room for difference of opinion who the sixth is.

If we reckon from Julius he must be Nero: if we reckon from Augustus he may be either Galba or Vespasian: for there is no reason to suppose that the three claimants of empire, Galba, Otho and Vitellius, were counted as actual emperors. His successor is to have a short but (apparently) not a merely ephemeral reign: the eighth will be an Antichristian revival of one of his predecessors. Probably we are to reckon from Augustus: for there can be little doubt that ch. xvii. is later than the death of Nero. If we suppose that the Apocalypse is the record of a single vision its date will probably in any case be between the death of Nero and the destruction of Jerusalem, so that the distinction between Galba and Vespasian is chiefly important as affecting the authority of the Seer: if Galba be the sixth king the vision received no obvious fulfilment; if he be Vespasian the seventh is the shortlived Titus, and the eighth Domitian, a tyrant and a persecutor, who was recognised both by Christians and Pagans as a revival of Nero.

Apparently in ch. xi. Jerusalem and the Temple are spoken of as still existing: even in xvi. 19 the city appears to be standing. In ch. xi. we cannot be sure how much is to be understood literally, how far "the Holy City" and "the Temple of God" are to be understood spiritually of their evangelical antitypes. But on the whole it appears simplest to take the literal sense, which appears to be the traditional one. If so the vision must be earlier than the destruction of Jerusalem, and is probably earlier than the outbreak of the war. What is foretold is not the destruction of the city, as in the prophecy of the Mount of Olives, but its profanation as in Daniel ix. The close parallel resemblance between the imagery in the vision of the seven seals and that in our Lord's prophecy (Matt. xxiv. and parallels) gives weight to the respectable traditional evidence for referring that vision to the fall of Jerusalem. If ch. xi. falls early in the reign of Nero, ch. xvii. may fall late in the reign of Vespasian: ch. xiii. contains much that would be easiest to understand if it was written under Domitian, who systematically exacted the divine honours which Nero had been content to invite and Caligula to claim by fits and starts.

On the hypothesis of the unity of the Apocalypse, we seem to meet with the same conflict between external and internal evidence as to the date, which we met before as to the authorship. If the Revelation as a whole was written by the Apostle John at some time between the death of Nero in June A.D. 68, and the capture of Jerusalem in August A.D. 70: and if the Gospel and Epistles were much later works of the same author, we should be able to harmonise most of the evidence, but not all. We should be able to accept all the mass of well-attested evidence which, as we have seen, we have to the authorship of the book: while its peculiarities and the difficulties in the way of referring it to the Evangelist, would be at any rate less perplexing. We should still have to explain or to leave unexplained the internal evidence that the Lord spoke freely in Greek, which, if so, His Disciples must have understood, and the external evidence of St Irenaeus as to the date as well as any traditions which may underlie the perplexing statements of St Victorinus and St Epiphanius. As to St Irenaeus it is possible to account for his statement about the date without supposing it to be a mere blunder.

If the story in Tertullian be true, it is likely enough to have happened, as St Jerome understood, under Nero. Savage punishments like those mentioned were inflicted by him on the Christians, and turned the popular hatred against them into pity; and it is credible that, when one of the victims was saved by a miracle or what looked like one, public opinion should have enforced a commutation of his sentence to simple exile. But, as exile was not a penalty often inflicted in Nero's persecution, while it was in Domitian's, Irenaeus may have assumed that St John's exile took place at the same time as that of other confessors. Or it is possible, that the Apostle was condemned by Domitian, or at least in his name, in the beginning of A.D. 70, when he, after the victory of Vespasian's army, was the only member of the new imperial family at Rome, and enjoyed the titular office of city praetor. It would then be a comparatively slight error if St Irenaeus, knowing that St John was sent into exile by Domitian, assumed that he was sent at the same time as other

'witnesses', i.e. at the end of Domitian's own reign, instead of the beginning of his father's.

Most recent critics are disposed to admit both St John's authorship of the Revelation and its early date. In England, indeed, many, perhaps most, orthodox commentators still adhere to the Irenaean or traditional date. But it is utterly unfair to suppose that there is any necessary connexion between the interpretation of ch. xvii. mentioned above and the rationalistic views of some of its advocates: as we have seen, believers in the divine truth of the prophecy need be at no loss for seeing how, on this view, it received at least a partial and typical fulfilment. How far that fulfilment was adequate—in what sense this or other predictions of the book have yet been fulfilled, or to what extent they yet remain to be fulfilled—these are questions of interpretation. If the date and circumstances of the vision can be determined on critical grounds, they will throw some light on the interpretation, when we come to attempt it: but the critical question may be, and ought to be, treated without prejudice from the supposed necessities of exegesis.

CHAPTER III.

PRINCIPLES OF INTERPRETATION.

Every student of the Apocalypse must be aware, that the interpretation of its visions has been a matter of controversy, almost ever since the age when it was written: and in view of this fact, it would clearly be presumptuous to propose any detailed scheme of interpretation with any approach to confidence. Still more obviously, it would be beyond the scope of an elementary sketch like the present Introduction, to enter into the controversy, or even to put forward the arguments by

which the various schools have maintained their respective causes. And it would be beyond our limits to trace, in more than the barest outline, the history of opinion on the subject of the interpretation of the book: though that history may serve for a patient student, at once to suggest true principles and to warn him of the need of caution in applying them.

The presumptuous confidence with which, a generation or two ago, definite and detailed predictions of the future history of the world were grounded upon the visions of this book, and supposed to enjoy its authority, has now provoked a reaction. Many orthodox readers are content to leave at least the bulk of the book absolutely uninterpreted. The letters to the Seven Churches, it is obvious, are full of moral and spiritual instruction to the Church of all ages: the imagery of the first, fourth, and fifth chapters, perhaps of the twelfth, and certainly of the two last, is so transparent that no believer can fail to see the foundation of our salvation figured in the former, and its consummation in the latter. But the rest of the book is commonly left unread, or read only with a literary interest, as a phantasmagoria of sublime images: if people are too reverent to regard the book as a riddle without an answer, they treat it as one which they can never hope to guess, but must wait till the answer shall be told.

It is however scarcely credible that this can be the right spirit in which to regard any part of God's Word: it is quite certain, that it is not the spirit in which the author of the Apocalypse expected or intended his own work to be regarded. Plainly, he throughout considers that he is conveying valuable information to his readers: this appears from the very title of the book, and the explanation which follows it in the opening words: see also i. 3, xiii. 9, 10, xix. 9, 10, xx. 6, xxii. 6, 7. It is true, that we are told that certain things contained in the vision are intentionally concealed (x. 4), and that certain others can only be interpreted by a rare gift of discernment (xiii. 18): but the general purport of the prophecy is expected to be intelligible, and most of its details to be instructive, to the Church at large.

If then the visions contained in the book were expected and

intended by the author to be intelligible, it is only reasonable to suppose that we shall find them so, if we will read them without prejudice, and from a point of view as near as possible to that of the readers who were addressed in the first instance. For, while it is likely that the book (assuming it to be a truly inspired prophecy of events still in the future) will be of greater value to the generation that sees its complete fulfilment than to any before, it is plain that it was expected to edify its first and immediate recipients: it can scarcely then be unintelligible or useless to the many generations that lie between.

I. This may then be taken as the first of the principles to direct us in the attempt to understand the book: its first readers must have had a clue to it. Such a clue may have been furnished in any of three ways—(1) by the Old Testament prophecies which the Seer repeats and makes his own, *if* we can ascertain the sense in which Jews or Christians of St John's day understood them; (2) by the oral teaching of St John and other Apostles, or by the earlier writings of the New Testament; (3) by the events of past or contemporary history.

(1) The Revelation of St John is full of reminiscences of what may almost be called imitations—of the prophecies of the Old Testament. In some cases it may sufficiently account for these, that the Seer uses an image or a phrase familiar to his own mind and to the minds of his readers, though not using it exactly in its original sense. But there are other cases—more important if not more numerous—where it is plainly implied that the new prophecy has a meaning analogous to, if not identical with, that of the old: e.g. in ii. 27 the promise of Ps. ii. 9 is applied to the faithful and courageous Christian; but the last words of the verse shew that St John understood the original promise as made not to the Christian but to Christ. On the other hand, it is quite certain that the Beast described in xiii. 1, 2 is either identical with one, or is an embodiment of all, of the beasts described in Dan. vii. Again, the "time, times, and half a time" of Rev. xii. 14, and the apparently coincident 42 months or 1260 days (xi. 2, 3, xii. 6, xiii. 5) plainly stand in a close relation with the identical or similar periods in Dan. vii. 25, xii. 7, 11, 12:

though here it may be said that the earlier prophecy is at least as obscure as the later. In fact, familiarity with Daniel's prophecy, and the generally received interpretation of it, must have made St John's readers readily understand his prophecy as directed against Rome, and against a person wielding the power of Rome (though the power in his hands was separable from Rome locally), who was to be such an oppressor to the new People of God as Antiochus Epiphanes had been to the old.

(2) And such an oppressor—or at least such a blasphemous enemy to God—had been foretold by the Apostles from very early times: more plainly, perhaps, in their oral teaching than in their writings. For the only place where he is clearly foretold in an apostolic writing earlier than the Revelation is 2 Thess. ii.: and there St Paul seems to use a certain reserve, and certainly refers to his oral teaching as serving to supplement what he writes. In this subject, therefore, it seems that the tradition of the early Church is entitled to more than usual authority, as to the interpretation of the designedly obscure predictions of the Apostle's written words. And here the earliest tradition agrees approximately with the doctrine of the Apocalypse, while it is manifestly independent of it. The Beast in the Apocalypse is a support and ally of Rome, yet becomes in the end the enemy of Rome, and his most daring defiance of God is after her fall. The Man of Sin in 2 Thess. is only to be revealed in his full self-deifying lawlessness, when "that which withholdeth" (variously described as a person or as a power) is taken out of the way: that is, if tradition be trusted, when the Roman Emperor or Empire has been put down.

At the same time, the dominion of the Man of Sin is connected, not with Rome only but with Jerusalem. This power will be at least as much spiritual as temporal, and thus it affiliates itself as well to the divinely chosen Sanctuary as to the divinely appointed seat of Empire. But in the one case, even more than in the other, his enmity to the divine purpose is as distinctly marked as his desire to shew himself heir to it. "He sitteth in the Temple of God, setting himself forth as God,"

says St Paul. St John describes how the dead bodies of his victims shall lie "in the street of the great City...where also their Lord was crucified." And both Apostles tell us, how his power would be supported by the quasi-spiritual evidence of miracles—miracles as striking as those of our Lord Himself, or any of the Prophets before Him, and only distinguished from theirs by the absence of the spirit of charity and of holiness.

Looking on to the tradition of the post-apostolic ages, we find that, though the *details* of apocalyptic interpretation were as obscure, and opinions about them varied as much, as in modern times, yet as to the outline of future events revealed in this Book and elsewhere, there was an agreement complete except in one point (that of the Millennium). From the time of Tertullian and St Hippolytus—not to say of SS. Justin and Irenaeus—we have a consistent expectation of the course of events that will precede the Last Judgement. Their views are not indeed derived from the Apocalypse exclusively, but they almost always give a meaning, and always give the same meaning, to its predictions. The Roman Empire was to be broken up into ten kingdoms, bearing (we must understand from Daniel) the same relation to it that the Hellenised kingdoms of the East bore to the Empire of Alexander. Among these kingdoms will arise a new Empire, reviving the old pretensions of Rome to world-wide instead of merely local dominion; but instead of resting on law, patriotism, and submission to the will of Providence, this new Empire will have no other basis than the self-will, the self-assertion, at least the self-deification, of its Ruler. He will come (if one may apply to the kingdom of evil the analogies of language used of the Kingdom of God) "in the spiritual power" of Epiphanes and of Nero: he may be called Nero in the sense in which our Lord is in prophecy called David, or His forerunner Elias. He will be a man free from coarse vices, such as hinder the consistent pursuit of any aim, but equally free from any restraint imposed by the fear of God, or by regard for human opinion. Claiming for himself the honour due to God and the supreme obedience due to His Law, he will persecute the Christian Church: his persecution

being so relentless, so systematic and well-directed, that the Church would be exterminated did not God supernaturally interpose to "shorten the days." But, while persecuting Christianity, he will extend a more or less hearty patronage to Judaism, being possibly himself of Israelitish birth. Having in some sense revived the Roman Empire, he will yet shew himself an enemy to the City of Rome, which will be finally destroyed, either by his armies or by the direct act of God: and he will, perhaps on occasion of this destruction, choose Jerusalem for his seat of empire. To this end he will restore the Jews to their own land: he will perhaps be recognised by them as their Christ: he will restore their Temple, but will make it serve rather to his own glory than to that of the Lord God of Israel.

So far, his career has apparently been unchecked. Now God sends against him two Prophets - probably Moses and Elijah, or Enoch and Elijah—who, by their words and miracles, to some extent counteract his. But they will be put to death in his persecution, and then his power will appear finally established: but only for a few days. God will raise them from the dead, and call them up into Heaven: and by this miracle, together with the preaching that preceded their death, the Jews will be converted. Elijah will have fulfilled his destined work, of "turning the hearts of the fathers to the children," i.e. of God's old People to His new.

Still Antichrist's universal empire appears scarcely shaken by the secession of the one little nation of Israel: he will assemble the armies of the world for its reconquest, and it will seem far easier for him to reduce his second capital than his first. But when in the Land of Israel, he and his army will be met and destroyed, not in a carnal battle with the forces of Israel after the flesh, but by the power of God in the hand of His Son.

Here, according to what seems to be the oldest form of the tradition, and certainly that standing in closest relation to the Apocalypse, follows what is popularly called the Millennium. The whole reign of Antichrist lasted, apparently, but three years and a half: the divine triumph after his overthrow will

last for a thousand years. This will begin, perhaps, with the appearance of the Lord Jesus on earth, certainly with the resurrection of the Martyrs, Prophets, and other chief Saints. Whether these remain on earth or no, the condition of the earth is made such that it shall not be an unworthy abode for them. Moral evil, if not annihilated, at least has its power broken. Jerusalem remains what Antichrist had made it—the spiritual and temporal metropolis of the world: but this world-wide power is now in the hands, not of God's enemy, but of God Himself: and the world under the rule of Jerusalem realises the most glorious prophetic descriptions of the Kingdom of God.

Yet this Kingdom of God is not the final and eternal one: indeed some in all ages have been disposed to doubt whether such an earthly Kingdom of God will be established at all. From the time of SS. Jerome and Augustine (the latter distinctly *changed* the older opinion for this), the general opinion of the Church has been that such a measure of liberty and predominance as has been hers since the conversion of Constantine is the only earthly Kingdom of God to be looked for. And if—feeling the inadequacy of this fulfilment to the language of St John and other Prophets—we incline to recur to the earlier view, we must confess that even so *Pauca tamen suberant priscae vestigia fraudis.*

Not only does the natural order of the world go on with deaths and (what shocked fourth century feeling most) marriages and births occurring; but there must be some root of moral evil remaining, to account for the end of this age of peace. The Devil will at last for a short time recover his power: while the central regions of the world remain faithful to God, the outlying ones are stirred up to revolt against Him, and press in to crush His Kingdom by the brute force of numbers. They are on the point of success—nearer to it, perhaps, than their predecessor Antichrist had been—when they are, like Antichrist, overpowered by the direct interposition of God. Then, all God's enemies being subdued, comes the end of all things—the General Resurrection of the Dead, the final Judgement, and the Eternal Kingdom of God.

(3) This is on the whole the traditional explanation of the Apocalypse: it is at almost all points the obvious one: the only thing which is not obvious is the rebuilding of Jerusalem by Antichrist, which is nowhere foretold; though it was almost an inevitable hypothesis for interpreters who lived later than Titus or Hadrian, it was difficult to find a place for it, especially if the twelve hundred and sixty days of the Prophecy of the Two Witnesses came before the forty and two months of the persecution of Antichrist. While this view was in possession the interpretation of the Apocalypse hinged on the visions of the Witnesses, the Woman and the Dragon, the Beast and the Harlot: afterwards when the Roman Empire and even the City of Rome were Christian the horizon changed: the Church had no longer cause to cry for vengeance against Babylon: the Kingdom of the World in a real sense had become the Kingdom of God and of His Christ, yet the world was sinful and sorrowful still. One effect of this was to discredit the Apocalypse: it seemed to have become unmeaning and unreal: it was a relief to reject its Apostolic authorship and its canonical authority: when this feeling gave way to respect for the Churches which adhered to the old tradition, the style of interpretation changed. The literal sense became secondary: instead of looking for a series of definite predictions of the last days interpreters sought mystical meanings for symbols which would be always applicable.

The great representative of this tendency in the West was Tyconius, a learned and thoughtful Donatist layman, who indirectly ruled the course of Apocalyptic interpretation from the fourth century to the twelfth. We do not know how far he was original; the explanation of the Woman in Labour as the Church who is always travailing in birth of her children is as old as St. Hippolytus. St. Jerome in his letter to Anatolius accompanying a revised and expanded version of the Scholia of St. Victorinus gives a long list of authors whom he professes, perhaps truly, to have consulted, but everything which he gives is taken from Tyconius; and it is the same in the *Summa Dicendorum*, which is preserved by Beatus and is probably by

St Jerome, as it refers back to the literal sense which was discussed in the Scholia of St Victorinus. The commentary of Tyconius is lost; but it was clearly the main source of Primasius, an African bishop of the sixth century, of Bede and of a series of homilies (a double recension of which is printed in the Appendix to St Augustine), as well as of Beatus, a Spanish abbot of the eighth century, who reproduces without being startled the conjecture, natural even to a moderate Donatist, that there might be no Church outside Africa.

Tyconius himself was a very remarkable interpreter: he was the first to insist on the apparent parallelism between the Seals, the Trumpets, and the Bowls, and this led him to a general theory of recapitulation which was adopted by St Augustine. Again, the view that what is said of Christ may be understood of His mystical body and *vice versa*, and that the same holds of the Devil and of his kingdom, had at least the advantage of substituting applications of immediate utility for doubtful conjectures as to the future. Often the individual interpretations are beautiful: e.g. the New Jerusalem is always coming down from Heaven, as often as one of her citizens is born again from above. He anticipated the communion founded by Mr Irving in the thought that each of the Seven Churches typifies a certain class of believers, so that the Epistles to them are of perennial application. So too the judgements on the third of the earth are explained by a threefold division of mankind into unbelievers and true and false believers, which shews that he was working his way to something at any rate less narrow than the technicalities on which the Donatists justified their schism. The commentaries of Andreas and Arethas (bishops of Caesarea in Cappadocia in the fifth? and ninth? centuries) are equally mystical but not equally interesting. In their hands the symbolism of the Apocalypse ceases to be suggestive, they find nothing there but the commonplaces of orthodoxy which they bring with them. The same holds good for the most part of Œcumenius, though he contributes something of his own in the conjecture that the Mahommedan invasion is foretold. It cannot be said that the mystical method of inter-

pretation has become obsolete: in England it is on the whole the method of Isaac Williams, who says that the Seer, when instead of waiting for what should be spoken he turned to see Him Who spoke, sets us an example of how we should study his book. It is also the method of Dr Milligan, a more recent, it may be a more influential expositor; for whom Babylon is the world in the Church, and Satan is bound for a thousand years, i.e. completely bound so that he cannot injure the true believer, while at the same time he is loosed for a little season to work his will on those who turn from the eternal light to the darkness of this perishable world.

The *continuous historical* theory which finds in the Apocalypse a prophecy of the fortunes of the Church from the time of the Seer to the consummation of all things had its beginning in the Apocalyptic school which grew up beside the Franciscan movement. The opening of the Seven Seals corresponded to seven stages in the development of the Christian Church: St Francis and St Dominic and their orders were the Two Witnesses: the seraphic St Francis was the Angel with the Everlasting Gospel: most important of all, Papal Rome was Babylon, though the Pope was not yet Antichrist and the school as a body looked for an angelic Pope who should regenerate the Church and the world by returning to apostolic poverty. Wyclif in the great schism went so far as to say that Antichrist was divided against himself.

Among Protestant interpreters it was long a fixed point that Rome was Babylon and that the Pope was Antichrist, and as their history had been foretold it was a natural inference that the whole history of the Church had been foretold too; and much ingenuity and some learning were expended in this direction by a school whose most respectable representatives in England were Bishop Newton and Dean Elliott, the author of the well-known *Horæ Apocalypticæ*.

The strong point of this view is, that it enables us to give a meaning, not merely to every vision, every image, in the Apocalypse, but to the order and connexion in which the visions and images are arranged. It is quite certain, that that order is not

arbitrary nor accidental, that the arrangement is (if we may apply the terms of human criticism) as elaborate, as artistic, and as symmetrical as any of the descriptions: and consequently it may fairly be held, that the arrangement forms an essential part of the Seer's teaching, and that no interpretation can be adequate which does not give a reason and a meaning for the arrangement. And the most obvious and natural view of the meaning is, that the arrangement is chronological—that every successive vision is a description, more or less figurative, of events successive to one another in the same order.

Yet no one has attempted to carry out this view quite consistently, and to interpret every vision as describing an event later than the vision before it. It is quite true that, as a rule, the visions are not only described in successive order, but are felt by the Seer to be successive—in the later ones he refers to the earlier (e.g. xiv. 1 (true text), xx. 2, xvii. 1, xxi. 9). But not only do some of the visions remain in view while later ones have risen which seem to take their place (see xi. 16, 19, xv. 5—8, xvi. 7, xix. 4): there are cases (e.g. xi. 7, xiii. 1—10, xvii. 3) where we seem to have unmistakeably the same figures or events described twice over, with only a difference in the point of view. Hence, some like Tyconius analyse the whole book into groups of visions, *each one* of which covers the whole range of human history, from the Seer's time (or even earlier) to the end of the world. This is called "the resumptive theory."

And certainly, it is difficult to understand vi. 12–17 of anything except the time immediately before the Last Judgement, or xiv. 14—20 of anything but the Last Judgement itself. Yet, when we find the latter passage immediately followed, not by the "beginning of the eternal rest[1]," but by a fresh series of plagues,—which are, we are told, "the last, for in them is fulfilled the wrath of God,"—it is hard to avoid reconsidering the obvious and natural interpretation: and often as the final Judgement has been prepared for and worked up to, in *no other case* do we find anything resembling a description of it, till it is described, quite unmistakeably in xx. 11—15.

[1] See note on viii. 1.

The *Preterist* and *Futurist* schools had their origin in a reaction against the *Continuous Historical*. Roman Catholics were of course under the necessity of providing a counter theory of the meaning of a canonical book of Scripture which was used unsparingly and effectively against Rome; and Protestants like Grotius, who desired the reunion of Christendom, naturally gave them their support: besides, the difficulty of supposing that the Seer intended to predict events and persons whom he did not name and could not have imagined, grew as the historical scheme which was read into his visions became more complicated. When men turned back from the wide field of the history of Christendom to the book itself, the natural *prima facie* impression which it makes revived. It seemed once more as if the Seer spoke of events to be accomplished in his own day, of a judgement on Jerusalem and Rome, of the reign, the persecution and the doom of Antichrist. The Preterist school, which appeared first, trusted the first half of this impression: they pressed all the passages where the Seer insists that the things of which he speaks must shortly come to pass, they pointed to the terrible judgements which did fall on Jerusalem and even on Rome in that generation, and they more or less explained away all that is said of Antichrist and of the victory over him: for instance Grotius explains the victory of the Rider on the White Horse as the free course of the Gospel after the fall of Nero, which is as inadequate as the *continuous historical* explanation of the Man Child as Constantine, in whom Christianity was exalted to imperial dominion. The Futurist school on the contrary trusted the second half of the impression: they returned so far as possible to the patristic explanation of the book, dropping for the most part the return of Nero, but retaining the rest of the traditional account of Antichrist. One considerable difficulty of this scheme is that the Seer is made to prophesy not against the Rome and Jerusalem of his own day, but against an apostate Rome and a restored Jerusalem to be revealed in the end of the days, and this though he says repeatedly that the time is at hand.

(4) It remains to try to trace the elements of truth in the

systems of interpretation which have succeeded one another. The mystical system is plainly not exclusive and can coexist with any and every theory of the literal sense (for instance Tyconius' doctrine of "recapitulation"): the *continuous historical* theory as tracing a series of partial fulfilments may be regarded as supplementary to the traditional view which believers will have no difficulty in accepting as in the main the true interpretation of the Apocalypse. It is not of course a complete interpretation of all its details, but it gives a framework, in which every detail may find its place: and for the explanation of details we may be content to wait, till the time shall come when they are manifest to those whose faith sees the consistent fulfilment of the prophecy as a whole. Yet those who have faith to expect the entire fulfilment cannot help asking—indeed they are bound to ask—what special predictions are already fulfilled or on the way to fulfilment, what signs of the coming end are already visible: and so they are led to go over the same ground as those, who, not recognizing the Prophets as recipients of a supernatural revelation of the future, are obliged to ask how their predictions were suggested by the circumstances of the present.

And if the view be accepted that the Apocalypse was written within a year or two after the death of Nero, circumstances that might have suggested such forecasts are certainly not wanting. Nero himself realises the character of Antichrist in almost every feature. He was a cruel persecutor of Christianity: he was indifferent or even hostile to the national sentiments and national religion of Rome. If he can ever be said to have acted on principle, he did so under the influence of the aesthetic culture of Greece, what religious feeling he had was oriental, perhaps even Jewish: his mistress and empress Poppaea seems to have been a Jewish proselyte. When his loss of the empire was imminent, he spoke of destroying Rome and transferring his throne to Jerusalem; and it was held that his motives for this plan were as much superstitious as political. But in truth Nero was too self-willed to "regard any god:" even the "Syrian goddess," to whom he had shewn some of the devotion which

he denied to "the gods of his fathers," was discarded before his death: if he did not openly deify himself, like his predecessor Gaius, he shewed himself incapable of hearty worship for any other god but self.

According to the traditional view one feature was wanting to complete the resemblance of the two characters. The latter part of Daniel xi. was interpreted of Antichrist: and the view that the "Desire of Women" was an object of worship[1] was unknown to any ancient expositor but St Ephraem, who probably inherited Jewish traditions through the school of Edessa. In their obvious sense the words imply that the profane king of whom Daniel speaks will be free from sensual vices; and even apart from this Antichrist is to counterfeit sanctity. Nero was enslaved by these vices from boyhood to the end of his life. And, while with this one exception the *characters* of the two coincide so closely, their *careers* do not. Nero was a legitimate Roman Emperor, acknowledged as such by the Apostles themselves: it was in the early days of his reign, that the benefits of the Empire to mankind were most fully realised. And atheist, tyrant and persecutor as Nero was, he certainly did not accomplish half of what the Revelation ascribes to Antichrist. He did not destroy Rome, nor reign and claim divine honours in Jerusalem: at most, it may be believed that he for a moment partially effected the first, and contemplated the second. Neither was he overthrown in the same way as Antichrist. While his generals were engaged in a successful war with the unbelieving Jews, he himself was overthrown by a revolt, or series of revolts, on the part of the army and the Senate—by a course of events in which there was the same mixture of good and evil as in ordinary human action, and in which it is impossible to see any direct or miraculous intervention of God.

This admits, however, of a more or less satisfactory reply. The career of Antichrist is the career, not of Nero as known

[1] According to St Ephraem the 'Desire of Women' was the goddess of Elymais whose temple Antiochus vainly attempted to profane: Ewald more probably suggests Tammuz, whose worship under the name of Adonis was popular at Greek courts.

to us, as a personage of ancient history; nor as known to the Seer, as a personage of recent history, but of Nero as, the Seer thought, he was to be—of Nero risen from the dead, or restored after a period of seeming death. Although there appears to have been no room for reasonable doubt of the fact of Nero's suicide, there was a widely spread popular belief that he was alive, perhaps in the far east, and that his return from thence might be looked for. During his own generation, this belief gave occasion for pretenders to appear: we hear distinctly of two if not three; one as late as the reign of Domitian, who nearly succeeded in engaging the armies of Parthia in his cause. When it had become manifestly impossible that Nero could, in a merely natural way, be alive and in hiding, still the expectation of his reappearance by no means died out: only it assumed the form of a superstition. Both among heathens and Christians, the expectation continued down to the age of the Barbarian inroads: and among the Christians, it connected itself more or less closely with the expectation of the Antichrist foretold in the Apocalypse. Was this connexion recognised by the Seer of the Apocalypse himself?

We have already had occasion to notice an opinion according to which it was. If the Beast's seven heads, in xiii. 1, 2, xvii. 10, 11 are rightly understood of individual Emperors of Rome, there can hardly be a doubt that Nero is one of them, and that he is, in some sense, identified with the predicted Antichrist. In all probability, the head "smitten unto death" symbolises the death (not denied to have been real) of Nero: he is reckoned (together with Augustus, Tiberius, Gaius, and Claudius) among the five kings that are fallen. But his reappearance as Antichrist is anticipated: after the reign of the contemporary Emperor, and the short one of his immediate successor, will appear "the Beast which was, and is not," who "both himself is the eighth, and is of the seven, and goeth into perdition." That is, the eighth Roman Emperor will be the revival of one of his predecessors (viz. the fifth); only in his revival he will be animated by the spirit of devilish, instead of merely human wickedness, as he will be possessed of devilish instead of merely human power.

Of course, it is certain that the Roman Empire was not terminated, or the visible kingdom of God established, by a miraculous interposition cutting short the reign of the eighth Emperor of Rome. If the Seer of the Apocalypse commits himself to the assertion that this was destined to happen, it is certain that his prediction failed. This will present, of course, no difficulty either to unbelievers in the communication to the Prophets of supernatural knowledge of the future, or to those who deny the claims of the Apocalypse to the character of a true supernatural prophecy: on either of these principles it is easy to say, "This is what the Seer expected to happen, but it did not." Does it follow that, if we accept the divine authority of the Revelation made to St John, we must reject this interpretation of his visions, as one not borne out by the events? The analogy of other prophecies will suggest another course. The resemblances between the Nero of history and the Antichrist of prophecy are too close to be accidental: so are the resemblances, it may be added, between several other historical characters and Antichrist. On the other hand, Nero and each of these other Antichristian figures differs from the Antichrist of prophecy in some more or less essential features: and none of them has done the acts, or achieved the career, or met with the end, foretold for him. The inference seems to be, that in these "many antichrists" there have been *partial* and *typical* fulfilments of the prophecies of *the* Antichrist, in whom they will find their final and exact fulfilment: just as the various Messianic prophecies of the Old Testament have found or will find their final and exact fulfilment in Christ, while many of them were partially fulfilled—some of them even suggested—by events which came to pass in the day of the Prophets.

In particular, there is absolutely no room for doubt that this explanation must be applied to the prophecies of the Old Testament which most closely resemble the Apocalypse—those in the seventh, eighth, and eleventh chapters of Daniel. The eighth chapter, and at least part of the eleventh, undeniably describe the reign, the persecution, and the overthrow of Antiochus Epiphanes: but, if these be regarded as having no

further reference, the latter at least must be condemned as wanting that perfect truth which appears essential to a divinely inspired prophecy. If however we regard Antiochus as a type of Antichrist, it becomes credible—one may even say probable—that those parts of the prediction which have not been fulfilled by the one will be by the other. Thus understood, the three separate visions throw light upon one another. In c. vii. the reference is, apparently, to the final Enemy only—the imagery is almost[1] exactly that afterwards used by St John in the Apocalypse, and the meaning presumably the same. In c. viii., on the other hand, while the imagery is not indeed identical, but closely parallel with that of the preceding chapter, it seems plain that the Enemy described is Antiochus, and his history forms an adequate fulfilment of the prediction. Lastly, in c. xi. we have the historical antecedents of Antiochus described, in even more unmistakeable detail than in c. viii.: we hear of Antiochus himself, and of the conflict between him and Israel: then suddenly the historical Antiochus, with his ridiculous follies and miserable human vices, seems to vanish, and make way for a figure of demoniac grandeur, defying God on what, except to faith, seem equal terms. When *this* Enemy of God and His People has arisen, and developed his full power, the remedy is no longer to be looked for in the sword of the Maccabees: the champion Israel needs is the Archangel Michael, or indeed the Almighty Himself: the general Resurrection follows, and the general Judgement.

If the Book of Daniel be accepted as a really inspired prophecy, this series of visions admits of but one explanation. The oppression of Antiochus is foretold, in part for its own sake, as an important episode in the temporal and religious history of God's People: in part also as a type of a greater and still more important oppression. And it seems probable, that Nero is treated by the New Testament Seer exactly as Antiochus was by his predecessor—that the historical Nero is treated as the type of Antichrist, that the descriptions of the

[1] Only it seems that Daniel's beast had one head, not seven (ver. 20).

one pass insensibly into descriptions of the other. We may, consistently with our reverence for the prophecy, say, "So much of this prediction was realised in the Seer's age: the rest has not yet been fulfilled:" for we shall hold that the partial fulfilment was a foretaste and a type of a fulfilment which, when it comes, will be complete.

The partial fulfilment of the prophecy concerning the Empire has been already mentioned (p. lxiv). We may say that Nero's real successor in the Empire was Vespasian—the 18 months between his accession and Nero's death being really a time of anarchy. The pretenders or claimants of empire who arose in almost every province may or may not be indicated by the "ten kings that have received no kingdom as yet," but it is arbitrary to select from among them, and recognise as *de facto* emperors, the three who were, for a few months, successively recognised at Rome. If we accept Nero then as the fifth of the "five fallen" emperors, Vespasian, the destroyer of Jerusalem, is the sixth, under whom, it is on this view probable, the vision was seen. His successor Titus was "not yet come, and when he came was to continue a little space," *i.e.* not to have a merely ephemeral reign like those of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, but yet a short one—about two years. And *his* successor—his brother Domitian—was to be a Nero: and so he was.

This is, however, an imperfect and inadequate fulfilment of the prophecies of Antichrist in this book. Domitian was, it is true, a revival of Nero in his cruelty; he was, like Nero, a persecutor of the Church: he was also—like Nero and unlike the predicted Antichrist—foully unclean in life. But he differed from Nero in possessing talents and principles which, while to some extent they bring him nearer to the type of spiritual wickedness, may also be regarded as giving him the dignity of that power which "withholdeth" the manifestation of the Lawless One. Domitian was no blasphemous atheist, but was, as a Pagan, sincerely and even fanatically religious: and his gross personal vices did not prevent his having a zeal for virtue, which seems to have been sincere. And, for good or evil, he

was a Roman—not like Antiochus, Nero, or Antichrist, a denationalised cosmopolitan. It may be doubtful to what extent the Empire suffered dishonour in Domitian's days; but at worst he must be acquitted of having wilfully betrayed its honour.

Thus it seems necessary to look for a completer fulfilment of the prophecy than any that has yet been seen, while yet it is possible to point to *a* fulfilment that, *to some extent*, corresponds with the prediction even in the minutest details. We may thus recognise a common element of truth in both the "preterist" and the "futurist" schemes of interpretation. Just as the 72nd Psalm is recognised as setting forth the greatness of Solomon's, "in type, and in truth of Christ's Kingdom;" so the Revelation may be regarded as a picture of the persecution of the Church, "in type," by such Emperors as Nero and Domitian, "in truth" by the Antichrist of the last days, and as a prophecy of Christ's victory over both enemies, the type and the antitype.

In fact, the method and plan of the book seems to be, that we have again and again a series—most frequently a group of seven—of pictures that plainly symbolise the approach of the Judgement. Up to the penultimate stage, everything would lead us to think the Judgement was immediately to follow: but the penultimate stage itself is prolonged and expanded: and when at last it ends, and the series is complete, it is found to usher in, *not* the end of all things, but the beginning of a new series of events, still preparatory for the final Judgement.

Now whatever predictions of the Apocalypse have been or have not been fulfilled, there is no doubt that this feature of it has been realised conspicuously. In the first century—in the third—in the fifth—in the ninth—in the sixteenth—in the age of the French Revolution—perhaps in our own time the signs of the coming Judgement have multiplied. The faithful have seen them beginning to come to pass, and have looked up and lifted up their heads, as though their redemption were drawing nigh: while those who were *not* faithful, or at least whose faith was without love, have sought to hide from the face of Him that sitteth upon the Throne, and from the wrath

of the Lamb. And yet, after a generation or two, the signs have passed away: the Judge has not come, the whole world has not been judged; rather, it has taken a new lease of life, and become a battlefield between new forms of good and evil, a court for new judgements of God between them. We cannot say indeed that those were wrong who expected the Judge to appear. They were bidden to expect Him—they were bidden to expect Him all the more, when they saw such signs as they did see: and so how could they do otherwise than they did? Indeed, dare we say that their expectation was disappointed? The world has not been judged, but the nation, the polity, the generation has been: the Kingdom of God's eternal rest has not been set up, but they that have believed do enter rest. The Vision of Judgement has been fulfilled in part and in type: the partial fulfilment serves to stay, without satisfying, faith's hunger for the final fulfilment.

Thus it seems possible to recognise an element of truth in both the "continuous" and what may be called the "resumptive" methods of interpretation, as we did in both the "preterist" and the "futurist" theories. We may believe that the chief object of the book is to teach the Church how to prepare for the Lord's coming to Judgement. With that object, we are told, not only in general terms what signs will mark His approach, but, in some detail, what events will immediately precede it. But in the providence of God, the signs of His approach, and events more or less resembling those immediately preceding it, have occurred repeatedly: and *this Book accordingly intimates*, that they will occur repeatedly. To Christians who had seen an almost perfect image of Antichrist in Nero, it was foretold that a new Nero, a perfect Antichrist, was to come: it was, not improbably, intimated that there would be in some sense a new Nero in the next generation, which was fulfilled in Domitian. Yet the "wars and rumours of wars" of the year 69–70 did not usher in the Second Advent: they passed off, and left the empire in peace and prosperity. Jerusalem had fallen, and Rome had tottered: but the whole earth sat still and was quiet: and Rome, at least, had recovered from

the shock. Again, in the conquests of the Teutonic barbarians, of the Arabs, of the Turks; or in the paganising apostasies of Julian, of the Renaissance, of the great Revolution, and of our own day, we may see likenesses, more or less close, of the things foretold in this Book: He Who inspired the Book doubtless intends that we should. Only, while the Book was written for the Church of all ages, it was written *specially* for the Church of the Apostles' own age, and for the Church of the last age of all: we need not therefore expect to find any intermediate age of affliction, or any intermediate enemy of the truth, indicated with such individualising detail as Nero and his persecution on the one hand, or Antichrist and his on the other.

Certainly, there is this objection to the various forms of the "continuous historical" theory which have attempted to identify special visions in the Apocalypse with special events in mediaeval or modern history—that no just view of the history of any polity or system will support such a series of identifications. Indeed, there is this element of truth, or at least of plausibility, in such schemes, that the one national or local feature indicated by the Seer coincides with what men have learnt, more and more as time has gone on, to be the centre and heart of the continuous life of the world's history—The City on the Seven Mountains. The Revelation, it is plain, tells us what the history of Rome is in God's sight: and the history of Rome is the one thread that runs unbroken through the history of the world. But it is only by the most arbitrary treatment—passing without warning from the figurative to the literal, and from the literal to the figurative—that any appearance can be maintained of a resemblance between the history of Rome, or of the world gathered round Rome, and the successive visions of the Apocalypse: nor is it possible, in honesty or in charity, to ascribe to the Rome of past history a uniform character such as is ascribed to the Babylon of the Apocalypse. No doubt, there have been times,—(much later than those of Nero and Domitian,)—when a Roman Emperor or a Roman Pope has presented a figure which, to the eyes of faith and righteousness, looks terribly like that of Antichrist. Godless

profligacy like that of Frederic II., cultivated, heathenish indifference to righteousness like that of the age of Leo X., was certainly felt—and we cannot doubt, rightly felt—to be the antichristian power of their time, by the moral reformers of the Middle Ages and of the Renaissance: but it is unjust and unreasonable to hold the Empire in all ages, or the Papacy in all ages, responsible for the sins of the Empire or the Papacy in those ages. We who in our own age have seen the rival powers of the Empire and the Papacy represented by honourable Christian men like William I. and Leo XIII., ought to be able to do justice alike to Pagan Emperors like Trajan and Diocletian, to Christian Emperors like Henry III. and Barbarossa, and to Popes like Gregory I., Gregory VII., Innocent III., and Pius V. To treat either of these groups of men as the champions and representatives of Antichrist is hardly less than blasphemy against the work of God.

And in fact, the identification of the Papacy with Antichrist admits of direct refutation. "He is the Antichrist," says St John, (Ep. I. ii. 22) "who denieth the Father and the Son:" he defines "the spirit of Antichrist" as the "spirit which confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh" (Ep. I. iv. 3). Now, whatever the errors of the Papacy and of the Roman Church, it is certain that no Pope has ever denied the truth on the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation. The most questionable of Roman doctrines—in particular those relating to the person of the Blessed Virgin Mary—so far from contradicting the true doctrine of "Jesus Christ come in the flesh," presuppose it and are deduced (however unwarrantably) from it. It is likely enough that the Papacy has in many ages incurred "the Babylonian woe," not in respect of theological opinions, but in proportion as "the mitre and the crosier" were, in Bishop Coxe's words,

> "Sullied with the tinsel of the Caesar's diadems:"

but, when the Caesars themselves were the bar against Antichrist, their successors or their apes can hardly be identified with him. One thing is plain about the Apocalypse—that it describes a clearly defined moral conflict between good and

evil, between Christ and His enemies: not a controversy in which good men, and men who love Christ in sincerity, are to be found on different sides. It is an idle latitudinarianism to assume that in such controversies truth is unimportant, or that compromise is the only guide to it; but it is something worse to waste on such controversies the zeal that should be reserved for the true war with the real Antichrist.

CHAPTER IV.

ANALYSIS.

i. 1—3. Title and description of the Book.

i. 4—iii. 22. Prologue and Dedication, shewing how St John received from Christ the command to write the vision, and send it to the Seven Churches.

i. 4—20. The vision of the Son of Man.

ii. 1—iii. 22. The Epistles to the Seven Churches.

iv. 1—xxii. 7. The Vision or Revelation itself.

A. iv. 1—v. 14. Vision remaining visible through all the rest; shewing (ch. iv.) the divine glory (see Ezek. i.; Is. vi.), and (ch. v.) the Lamb that was slain sharing it.

(*a*) v. 1—14. The book of the seven seals and the Glory of the Lamb who is worthy to open it.

B. vi. 1—viii. 1. The opening of the seven seals, and the judgements attending thereon. Before the last seal, there appear

(*a*) vii. 1—8. The sealing of the 144,000, and

(*b*) 9—17. The assembly of the multitude of the justified.

C. viii. 2—xi. 19. The sounding of the seven trumpets, and the judgements attending thereon. Before the first trumpet appears

(*a*) viii. 3—5. The Angel censing the prayers of the Saints.

The last three trumpets are proclaimed (viii. 13) as Woes. Before the last of them come

(*b*) x. 1—11. A mighty Angel having a little Book, which the Seer is commanded to eat:

(*c*) xi. 1, 2. The measuring of the Temple:

(*d*) xi. 3—14. The prophesying of the two Witnesses (Moses and Elijah?), their martyrdom and resurrection.

D. xii. 1—xiv. 13. The signs in Heaven and in Earth: the heads of the Kingdoms of God and Satan, or of Christ and Anti-Christ.

(*a*) xii. 1—13. The Woman giving birth to the Man, persecuted by the Serpent (see Gen. iii. 15), and the War in Heaven.

(*b*) xiii. 1—10. The Beast to whom the Serpent or Dragon (the Devil) gives his authority (see Dan. vii., xi. 36 sqq.; 2 Thess. ii. 3—10).

(*c*) xiii. 11—18. The second Beast (the False Prophet) who secures the deification of the first Beast, and persecutes those who refuse him worship.

(*d*) xiv. 1—5. The Lamb with the 144,000 of the redeemed.

(*e*) xiv. 6—12. Three Angels proclaim God's Judgements, and (*v.* 13) a voice from Heaven His mercy.

E. xiv. 14—20. A symbolic vision of the Judgement of the earth (see Joel iii. 13).

F. xv. 1—xvi. 21. The outpouring of the seven vials, and the judgements attending thereon. Before the first vial there appears

(*a*) xv. 2—4. The triumph-song of the victors in the war with the Beast.

Before the last vial,

(*b*) xvi. 13—16. The spirits of devils gather the armies of Christ's enemies.

G. xvii. 1—xviii. 24. The fall of Babylon.

H. xix. 1—21. The campaign of the Word of God against the Beast.

(*a*) 1—8. The triumph-song inspired by the fall of Babylon: the Lamb, the Victor and the Bridegroom (see Ps. xlv.).

(*b*) 9—10. The revealing Angel proclaims himself not divine.

(*c*) 11—21. The martial procession, and the victory.

I. xx. 1—6. The Millennial Peace.

K. xx. 7—10. The last campaign of the Devil.

L. xx. 11—15. The universal Judgement.

M. xxi. 1—xxii. 7. The glorious reign of God and His saints in the New Jerusalem.

(8, 9. The revealing Angel again refuses divine honours.)

xxii. 10—21. Conclusion.

CHAPTER V.

Text.

The Received Text of the Revelation has had a peculiar history. As in the other books, it is in the main a reproduction of the Text of Erasmus, with slight corrections which he and subsequent editors introduced mostly from the Complutensian text; but while in the other books Erasmus used MSS. which fairly represented the current mediaeval text (itself a not unfaithful representative of the text which had established itself at Antioch by the time of St Chrysostom), in the Revelation he was dependent on a very faulty representative of a singular and probably older type of text.

He borrowed a MS. from Reuchlin (now cited as 1), which when rediscovered by Delitzsch proved to be of the twelfth century; but as he found it very difficult to read he thought it must be very old, almost of the Apostolic age. This MS. contained the commentary of Andreas and the text of the Apocalypse, so arranged that it was difficult to distinguish the two: the text was full of omissions, mostly if not entirely due to homoeoteleuton, and also of puzzling contractions. Erasmus printed from his own transcript of this MS.: his text bears the traces of his own clerical errors, of the influence of the commentary, and of the Vulgate from which he retranslated without notice what was lacking in his MS.

The materials for constructing a critical text are *with one exception* scantier than for any other of the books of the New Testament. They are as follows.

Greek Manuscripts.

Uncials. Codex Sinaiticus (ℵ), generally assigned to the 4th century. Although this is the oldest MS. the text which it represents is by no means the best, being quite different from that which it represents in the Gospels. It is full of grammatical corrections and quasi-liturgical additions, such as *Amen*, *Alleluia*, and *to the ages of ages.*

Codex Alexandrinus (A), generally assigned to the 5th century. Of all extant MSS. the greatest weight is given to this.

Codex Ephraemi (C); also assigned to the 5th century: palimpsest. It lacks iii. 19—v. 14; vii. 14—17; viii. 5—ix. 16; x. 10—xi. 3; xvi. 13—xviii. 2; xix. 5 to end. This MS. comes next in importance to A.

Codex Porphyrianus (P_2), 9th century: palimpsest. It lacks xvi. 12—xvii. 1; xix. 21—xx. 9; xxii. 7 to end.

Codex Vaticanus 2066 (B_2), 8th century. This MS. is cited as B by Tischendorf; but in order to distinguish it from the famous Codex Vaticanus (B) assigned to the 4th century, which [does not contain the Apocalypse,] it is now generally cited, after Westcott and Hort, as B_2; Tregelles and others cite it as Q.

Cursives. 182 are known to exist or to have existed (two or three cited by early editors cannot now be traced). They dated from the 10th to the 17th century. The most important are perhaps 1 at Mayhingen (its nearest allies are 12 and 152) and 36, 38 and 95; 36 and 95 are closely connected with A. The oldest known cursive 170 (10th century), *which contains the commentary of Andreas*, awaits collation in the Iberian monastery on Mount Athos.

Versions.

Syriac. The Peschitto, or Syriac Vulgate, did not contain the Apocalypse (see p. xix). Lord Crawford's library however contains a copy of the Peschitto with an appendix containing the four minor Catholic epistles (2 Pet., Jude, 2 and 3 John) and the Apocalypse. The latter is to be published by Dr Gwynn with a retranslation into Greek (*Academy*, June 18, 1892). The Syriac in character resembles Pococke's text of the four minor epistles; and it appears that the Syriac Version hitherto known[1] is a revision of the Crawford version, bearing the same relation to it as Thomas of Harkel's version (616 A.D.) of the four minor Catholic epistles bears to the text published by Pococke. The

[1] It was published by De Dieu in 1627 from a late MS. at Leyden; there is also a commentary in an eleventh century MS. (Mus. Brit. 17027) from which a complete text of the same character may be recovered.

Greek text which underlies the new found version is very ancient, and exhibits coincidences both with ℵ and A, and such exceptional cursives as 36 and 38 as well as the Old Latin: the Greek text to which the revision hitherto known has been servilely conformed is of a much later character.

Old or 'African' Latin. Codex Floriacensis, palimpsest of the 7th century from the Benedictine Monastery of Fleury, now at Paris. It contains the following fragments i. 1—ii. 1; viii. 7—ix. 12; xi. 16—xii. 14; xiv. 15—xvi. 5. Fortunately also the whole of the text except xx. 1.—xxi. 5 is preserved by Primasius, Bishop of Adrumetum in the 6th century, and a considerable part can be recovered from the quotations of St Cyprian in the 3rd.

Vulgate Latin, that is to say St Jerome's revision of the Old Latin, A.D. 383—385, best represented by Codices Amiatinus and Fuldensis (both of the sixth century). An intermediate text is represented for xx. 1—xxi. 5 by St Augustine (*de Civitate Dei* xx. 7—17), who was copied by Primasius: and also by the citations peculiar to the enlarged edition of the Testimonies of St Cyprian, and by the *alia editio* or *translatio* frequently cited by Primasius. This last was obviously used by Tyconius, and where as not infrequently happens Primasius' commentary differs from his text, it is probable that in the former he reproduces the text of Tyconius without noticing that his own was different.

Memphitic. It is from its position in the MSS. which contain it, rather than from any difference in language or style, that Coptic scholars infer that the Memphitic version of the Apocalypse was not strictly speaking canonical. Hence it has been inferred that it dates from the interval between St Dionysius (c. 250 A.D.), who though he acknowledged the inspiration of the Apocalypse may have discouraged its public reading, and St Athanasius, whose Festal epistle of 367 A.D. fixed the canonical rank of the book for Egypt.

Aethiopic. This version, which is assigned to the 4th or 5th century, treats the Apocalypse as canonical. It is supposed to have been made by Syrians imperfectly acquainted with Greek from MSS. of the same type as those used for the Memphitic version.

Armenian. This version was made later than 431 A.D., when St Mesrob invented an alphabet for his native language into which the books he brought back with him from Ephesus were to be translated. Up to that date Syriac had been the official language of the Armenian Church. As might be expected from the connexion between Caesarea and Armenia, the Armenian version of the Apocalypse has affinities with the text of Andreas.

Fathers.

Greek. Irenaeus (c. 180 A.D.) contains so many quotations, that, if his great work on Heresies had been preserved in the original, it would have been a high authority: it is uncertain how far the translator is dependent upon the Old Latin.

Hippolytus (c. 220 A.D.) quotes largely in his work on Christ and Antichrist, and in the Fourth book of his commentary on Daniel recently printed from a MS. discovered by Georgiades. The former is largely used in a homily (wrongly ascribed to him) on Antichrist and the End of the World, in which those who hide themselves in caves and under rocks are assumed to be hermits. His text appears to be less redundant than that of our present Greek MSS.

The same holds of the quotations of Origen († 253), St Methodius († 303? 311?) and St Epiphanius († 402). Making every allowance for freedom of quotation, it seems probable that all used a type of text not represented in our MSS. This bears out the impression which the language of Origen and St Jerome is calculated to make, that in the 3rd and 4th century a much greater variety of readings prevailed than can be traced in our present documents.

Andreas, Archbishop of Caesarea in the latter part of the 5th century, wrote a commentary on the Book, which, when the copious materials for a critical edition have been used, will enable us to determine the text he followed, which is independent of the Uncials, though probably on the whole inferior to that of the best of them.

His successor Arethas (who is generally identified with the author of a panegyric on a 9th century saint) also wrote a com-

mentary, which is of comparatively little importance for textual criticism, except that he mentions from time to time various readings for which he is the only or the oldest authority.

Latin. Tertullian (199—230 A.D.) quotes largely; but it is not yet decided whether from the Old Latin or direct from the Greek: nor can the extent to which his text is singular be ascertained till all his works have been published with an adequate critical apparatus.

St Cyprian († 258) also quotes largely: his works have been edited by Hartel in the Vienna Corpus.

Tyconius, a Donatist grammarian of the latter part of the 4th century, though his commentary is only known at second hand, is an important witness to a transitional stage of the Latin Text.

St Jerome († 420) is also important; for his quotations by no means always agree with his rather perfunctory revision of the text.

St Augustine († 431); see above, p. lxxvii.

The mediaeval commentators, Beda (7th century), Beatus (8th century), Ansbertus (8th century) and Haymo († 843), all throw some subsidiary light on the history of the Latin Text.

The critical determination of the text is less certain than in the other books of the New Testament: for the materials are not only less abundant but less trustworthy. There is no representative of the so-called 'Neutral Text' comparable to B or even to ℵ in the earlier books. The fourth century was certainly a very important time in the history of the text of the New Testament, and during this time the text of the Apocalypse was exposed to peculiar dangers. It was not generally regarded in the East as canonical or regularly read in the Churches, so that the tendency of scribes to correct the supposed errors of their predecessors was not checked by the familiarity of the faithful with its language. In the West, on the other hand, it retained its place in the Canon unquestioned; and hence, though the Latin authorities do not give a better text of this Book than of others, they may prove to have a greater relative value than in

books where we still possess the 'Neutral Text.' Fortunately the Revelation (thanks to Primasius) is the one book besides the Gospels, of which we have a continuous Old Latin text, 'unmixed' though not 'uncorrupted;' and the parallels from Cyprian prove that the corruptions are not very serious. The Latin documents among other things supply evidence (unaffected by the frequent confusion between 3rd fut. in *-bit*, and 3rd perf. in *-vit*) that their Greek archetypes had aorists where our present Greek MSS. have futures. Editors however have hitherto adhered to the rule of basing their text exclusively upon uncials, and only using versions and cursives as a makeweight when uncials differ. So far as the cursives have been collated they appear to differ more from one another than the 1273 known MSS. of the Gospels; but they have not yet been classified, though this might be perhaps facilitated, as Delitzsch thought, by the fact that so many of them contain the commentaries of Andreas and Arethas, and presumably reproduce corresponding texts.

The same type of text underlies ACP; A has preserved it best. C when alone is not seldom right; in c. xiii., one of the most perplexing chapters, it has preserved traces of a shorter text. CP together generally represent an unfortunate revision, though now and again they enable us to correct clerical errors in A. B_2 (especially when joined by P) is the best authority for such an approach to a received mediaeval text as can be said to exist; Griesbach based his text chiefly on it and its cursive allies; grammatical difficulties are often skilfully minimised; some of its additions to the text of ACP seem to represent different readings rather than glosses. $\aleph B_2$ is a sufficiently common group to shew that many of the characteristic readings of B_2 are very old: and there is room for considerable difference of opinion how far this group may be used to check the group headed by A, and especially those readings where A stands alone. $\aleph$ also often coincides with Latin authorities. P is a genuine though degenerate descendant of the common parent of AC: it has many of the faults of B_2 and some of its own. Often a reading is supported by a group headed P1, with or without

support from outlying versions. ℵP1 is also not an uncommon group. Both B_2 and P contain a text demonstrably affected by the commentaries of Andreas and Arethas. Whether annotations from Melito or Apollonius may have invaded all existing documents is a curious question which awaits discussion. If it should prove (see Excursus III.) that the Revelation grew up by degrees in the hands of one or more writers, this would impart a new element of uncertainty into the text. Spitta is of opinion that the Redactor is responsible for most of the grammatical irregularities.

ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΙΣ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ

1 [1]ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΙΣ ΙΗΣΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ, *ἣν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεός, δεῖξαι τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐν τάχει, καὶ ἐσήμανεν ἀποστείλας διὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου αὐτοῦ τῷ δούλῳ αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννῃ,* [2]*ὃς ἐμαρτύρησεν τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅσα εἶδεν.* [3]*μακάριος ὁ ἀναγινώσκων καὶ οἱ ἀκούοντες τοὺς λόγους τῆς προφητείας, καὶ τηροῦντες τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ γεγραμμένα· ὁ γὰρ καιρὸς ἐγγύς.*

[4]ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ *ταῖς ἑπτὰ ἐκκλησίαις ταῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ· χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἑπτὰ πνευμάτων ἃ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου αὐτοῦ,* [5]*καὶ ἀπὸ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστός, ὁ πρωτότοκος τῶν νεκρῶν, καὶ ὁ ἄρχων τῶν βασιλέων τῆς γῆς. τῷ ἀγαπῶντι ἡμᾶς, καὶ λύσαντι ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ,* [6]*καὶ ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς βασιλείαν ἱερεῖς τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ· αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.*

[7]*Ἰδοὺ ἔρχεται μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν, καὶ ὄψεται αὐτὸν πᾶς ὀφθαλμός, καὶ οἵτινες αὐτὸν ἐξεκέντησαν·* καὶ

κόψονται ἐπ' αὐτὸν πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς. ναί, ἀμήν.

8 Ἐγώ εἰμι τὸ Ἄλφα καὶ τὸ Ὦ, λέγει κύριος ὁ θεός, ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, ὁ παντοκράτωρ.

9 Ἐγὼ Ἰωάννης, ὁ ἀδελφὸς ὑμῶν καὶ συνκοινωνὸς ἐν τῇ θλίψει καὶ βασιλείᾳ καὶ ὑπομονῇ ἐν Ἰησοῦ, ἐγενόμην ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τῇ καλουμένῃ Πάτμῳ, διὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ διὰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ. 10 ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἤκουσα ὀπίσω μου φωνὴν μεγάλην ὡς σάλπιγγος, 11 λεγούσης, Ὃ βλέπεις γράψον εἰς βιβλίον, καὶ πέμψον ταῖς ἑπτὰ ἐκκλησίαις, εἰς Ἔφεσον, καὶ εἰς Σμύρναν, καὶ εἰς Πέργαμον, καὶ εἰς Θυάτειρα, καὶ εἰς Σάρδεις, καὶ εἰς Φιλαδελφείαν, καὶ εἰς Λαοδικείαν. 12 Καὶ ἐπέστρεψα βλέπειν τὴν φωνὴν ἥτις ἐλάλει μετ' ἐμοῦ· καὶ ἐπιστρέψας εἶδον ἑπτὰ λυχνίας χρυσᾶς, 13 καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τῶν λυχνιῶν ὅμοιον υἱῷ ἀνθρώπου, ἐνδεδυμένον ποδήρη, καὶ περιεζωσμένον πρὸς τοῖς μασθοῖς ζώνην χρυσᾶν. 14 ἡ δὲ κεφαλὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ αἱ τρίχες λευκαὶ ὡς ἔριον λευκόν, ὡς χιών· καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς φλὸξ πυρός· 15 καὶ οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὅμοιοι χαλκολιβάνῳ, ὡς ἐν καμίνῳ πεπυρωμένης· καὶ ἡ φωνὴ αὐτοῦ ὡς φωνὴ ὑδάτων πολλῶν· 16 καὶ ἔχων ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ ἀστέρας ἑπτά· καὶ ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ ῥομφαία δίστομος ὀξεῖα ἐκπορευομένη. καὶ ἡ ὄψις αὐτοῦ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος φαίνει ἐν τῇ δυνάμει αὐτοῦ. 17 Καὶ ὅτε εἶδον αὐτόν, ἔπεσα πρὸς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ ὡς νεκρός· καὶ ἔθηκεν τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτοῦ ἐπ' ἐμέ, λέγων, Μὴ φοβοῦ· ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος, 18 καὶ ὁ ζῶν, καὶ ἐγενόμην νεκρός, καὶ ἰδοὺ ζῶν εἰμὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων· καὶ ἔχω τὰς κλεῖς τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τοῦ ᾅδου. 19 γράψον οὖν ἃ εἶδες, καὶ ἃ εἰσίν, καὶ ἃ

μέλλει γίνεσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα· [20]τὸ μυστήριον τῶν ἑπτὰ
ἀστέρων οὓς εἶδες ἐπὶ τῆς δεξιᾶς μου, καὶ τὰς ἑπτὰ
λυχνίας τὰς χρυσᾶς. οἱ ἑπτὰ ἀστέρες ἄγγελοι τῶν
ἑπτὰ ἐκκλησιῶν εἰσίν· καὶ αἱ λυχνίαι αἱ ἑπτὰ ἑπτὰ
ἐκκλησίαι εἰσίν.

2 [1]Τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῆς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐκκλησίας γράψον,
Τάδε λέγει ὁ κρατῶν τοὺς ἑπτὰ ἀστέρας ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ
αὐτοῦ, ὁ περιπατῶν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἑπτὰ λυχνιῶν τῶν
χρυσῶν· [2]Οἶδα τὰ ἔργα σου, καὶ τὸν κόπον καὶ τὴν
ὑπομονήν σου, καὶ ὅτι οὐ δύνῃ βαστάσαι κακούς, καὶ
ἐπείρασας τοὺς λέγοντας ἑαυτοὺς ἀποστόλους καὶ οὐκ
εἰσίν, καὶ εὗρες αὐτοὺς ψευδεῖς, [3]καὶ ὑπομονὴν ἔχεις καὶ
ἐβάστασας διὰ τὸ ὄνομά μου, καὶ οὐ κεκοπίακες. [4]ἀλλὰ
ἔχω κατὰ σοῦ, ὅτι τὴν ἀγάπην σου τὴν πρώτην ἀφῆκες.
[5]μνημόνευε οὖν πόθεν πέπτωκας, καὶ μετανόησον, καὶ
τὰ πρῶτα ἔργα ποίησον· εἰ δὲ μή, ἔρχομαί σοι, καὶ
κινήσω τὴν λυχνίαν σου ἐκ τοῦ τόπου αὐτῆς, ἐὰν μὴ
μετανοήσῃς. [6]ἀλλὰ τοῦτο ἔχεις, ὅτι μισεῖς τὰ ἔργα τῶν
Νικολαϊτῶν, ἃ κἀγὼ μισῶ. [7]ὁ ἔχων οὖς ἀκουσάτω τί
τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις. τῷ νικῶντι δώσω
αὐτῷ φαγεῖν ἐκ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς, ὅ ἐστιν ἐν τῷ
παραδείσῳ τοῦ θεοῦ.

[8]Καὶ τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῆς ἐν Σμύρνῃ ἐκκλησίας γράψον,
Τάδε λέγει ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος, ὃς ἐγένετο νεκρὸς
καὶ ἔζησεν· [9]Οἶδά σου τὴν θλῖψιν καὶ τὴν πτωχείαν,
ἀλλὰ πλούσιος εἶ· καὶ τὴν βλασφημίαν ἐκ τῶν λεγόν-
των Ἰουδαίους εἶναι ἑαυτούς, καὶ οὐκ εἰσίν, ἀλλὰ συνα-
γωγὴ τοῦ Σατανᾶ. [10]μηδὲν φοβοῦ ἃ μέλλεις πάσχειν.
ἰδοὺ μέλλει βαλεῖν ὁ διάβολος ἐξ ὑμῶν εἰς φυλακήν,
ἵνα πειρασθῆτε· καὶ ἕξετε θλῖψιν ἡμερῶν δέκα. γίνου
πιστὸς ἄχρι θανάτου, καὶ δώσω σοι τὸν στέφανον τῆς

ζωῆς. [11] ὁ ἔχων οὖς ἀκουσάτω τί τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις· ὁ νικῶν οὐ μὴ ἀδικηθῇ ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ δευτέρου.

[12] Καὶ τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῆς ἐν Περγάμῳ ἐκκλησίας γράψον, Τάδε λέγει ὁ ἔχων τὴν ῥομφαίαν τὴν δίστομον τὴν ὀξεῖαν· [13] Οἶδα ποῦ κατοικεῖς, ὅπου ὁ θρόνος τοῦ Σατανᾶ, καὶ κρατεῖς τὸ ὄνομά μου, καὶ οὐκ ἠρνήσω τὴν πίστιν μου [καὶ] ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἀντίπας, ὁ μάρτυς μου ὁ πιστός μου, ὃς ἀπεκτάνθη παρ' ὑμῖν, ὅπου ὁ Σατανᾶς κατοικεῖ. [14] ἀλλ' ἔχω κατὰ σοῦ ὀλίγα, ὅτι ἔχεις ἐκεῖ κρατοῦντας τὴν διδαχὴν Βαλαάμ, ὃς ἐδίδασκεν τῷ Βαλὰκ βαλεῖν σκάνδαλον ἐνώπιον τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ, φαγεῖν εἰδωλόθυτα καὶ πορνεῦσαι. [15] οὕτως ἔχεις καὶ σὺ κρατοῦντας τὴν διδαχὴν τῶν Νικολαϊτῶν ὁμοίως. [16] μετανόησον· εἰ δὲ μή, ἔρχομαί σοι ταχύ, καὶ πολεμήσω μετ' αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ῥομφαίᾳ τοῦ στόματός μου. [17] ὁ ἔχων οὖς ἀκουσάτω τί τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις. τῷ νικοῦντι δώσω αὐτῷ τοῦ μάννα τοῦ κεκρυμμένου, καὶ δώσω αὐτῷ ψῆφον λευκήν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ψῆφον ὄνομα καινὸν γεγραμμένον, ὃ οὐδεὶς οἶδεν εἰ μὴ ὁ λαμβάνων.

[18] Καὶ τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῆς ἐν Θυατείροις ἐκκλησίας γράψον, Τάδε λέγει ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ ἔχων τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ ὡς φλόγα πυρός, καὶ οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὅμοιοι χαλκολιβάνῳ· [19] Οἶδά σου τὰ ἔργα, καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην καὶ τὴν πίστιν, καὶ τὴν διακονίαν καὶ τὴν ὑπομονήν σου, καὶ τὰ ἔργα σου τὰ ἔσχατα πλείονα τῶν πρώτων. [20] ἀλλ' ἔχω κατὰ σοῦ, ὅτι ἀφεῖς τὴν γυναῖκα Ἰεζάβελ, ἡ λέγουσα ἑαυτὴν προφῆτιν, καὶ διδάσκει καὶ πλανᾷ τοὺς ἐμοὺς δούλους, πορνεῦσαι καὶ φαγεῖν εἰδωλόθυτα. [21] καὶ ἔδωκα αὐτῇ χρόνον ἵνα μετανοήσῃ, καὶ οὐ θέλει μετανοῆσαι ἐκ τῆς πορνείας αὐτῆς.

[22]ἰδοὺ βάλλω αὐτὴν εἰς κλίνην, καὶ τοὺς μοιχεύοντας
μετ' αὐτῆς εἰς θλῖψιν μεγάλην, ἐὰν μὴ μετανοήσουσιν
ἐκ τῶν ἔργων αὐτῆς, [23]καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς ἀποκτενῶ ἐν
θανάτῳ· καὶ γνώσονται πᾶσαι αἱ ἐκκλησίαι ὅτι ἐγώ
εἰμι ὁ ἐραυνῶν νεφροὺς καὶ καρδίας· καὶ δώσω ὑμῖν
ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα ὑμῶν. [24]ὑμῖν δὲ λέγω τοῖς λοι-
ποῖς τοῖς ἐν Θυατείροις, ὅσοι οὐκ ἔχουσιν τὴν διδαχὴν
ταύτην, οἵτινες οὐκ ἔγνωσαν τὰ βαθέα τοῦ Σατανᾶ, ὡς
λέγουσιν, Οὐ βάλλω ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἄλλο βάρος· [25]πλὴν ὃ
ἔχετε κρατήσατε, ἄχρι οὗ ἂν ἥξω. [26]Καὶ ὁ νικῶν καὶ
ὁ τηρῶν ἄχρι τέλους τὰ ἔργα μου, δώσω αὐτῷ ἐξουσίαν
ἐπὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν· [27]καὶ ποιμανεῖ αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ,
ὡς τὰ σκεύη τὰ κεραμικὰ συντρίβεται, ὡς κἀγὼ εἴληφα
παρὰ τοῦ πατρός μου· [28]καὶ δώσω αὐτῷ τὸν ἀστέρα
τὸν πρωϊνόν. [29]ὁ ἔχων οὖς ἀκουσάτω τί τὸ πνεῦμα
λέγει ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις.

3 [1]Καὶ τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῆς ἐν Σάρδεσιν ἐκκλησίας
γράψον, Τάδε λέγει ὁ ἔχων τὰ ἑπτὰ πνεύματα τοῦ θεοῦ
καὶ τοὺς ἑπτὰ ἀστέρας· Οἶδά σου τὰ ἔργα, ὅτι ὄνομα
ἔχεις ὅτι ζῇς, καὶ νεκρὸς εἶ. [2]γίνου γρηγορῶν, καὶ
στήρισον τὰ λοιπὰ ἃ ἔμελλον ἀποθανεῖν· οὐ γὰρ εὕρηκά
σου τὰ ἔργα πεπληρωμένα ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ μου.
[3]μνημόνευε οὖν πῶς εἴληφας καὶ ἤκουσας, καὶ τήρει,
καὶ μετανόησον. ἐὰν οὖν μὴ γρηγορήσῃς, ἥξω ὡς κλέ-
πτης, καὶ οὐ μὴ γνώσῃ ποίαν ὥραν ἥξω ἐπί σε. [4]ἀλλὰ
ἔχεις ὀλίγα ὀνόματα ἐν Σάρδεσιν, ἃ οὐκ ἐμόλυναν τὰ
ἱμάτια αὐτῶν· καὶ περιπατήσουσιν μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐν λευκοῖς,
ὅτι ἄξιοί εἰσιν. [5]Ὁ νικῶν οὕτως περιβαλεῖται ἐν ἱμα-
τίοις λευκοῖς· καὶ οὐ μὴ ἐξαλείψω τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐκ
τῆς βίβλου τῆς ζωῆς, καὶ ὁμολογήσω τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ
ἐνώπιον τοῦ πατρός μου καὶ ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀγγέλων

αὐτοῦ. [6]ὁ ἔχων οὖς ἀκουσάτω τί τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις.

[7]Καὶ τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῆς ἐν Φιλαδελφίᾳ ἐκκλησίας γράψον, Τάδε λέγει ὁ ἅγιος, ὁ ἀληθινός, ὁ ἔχων τὴν κλεῖν τοῦ Δαυείδ, ὁ ἀνοίγων καὶ οὐδεὶς κλείσει, καὶ κλείων καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀνοίξει· [8]Οἶδά σου τὰ ἔργα· ἰδοὺ δέδωκα ἐνώπιόν σου θύραν ἠνεῳγμένην ἣν οὐδεὶς δύναται κλεῖσαι αὐτήν· ὅτι μικρὰν ἔχεις δύναμιν, καὶ ἐτήρησάς μου τὸν λόγον, καὶ οὐκ ἠρνήσω τὸ ὄνομά μου. [9]ἰδοὺ διδῶ ἐκ τῆς συναγωγῆς τοῦ Σατανᾶ τῶν λεγόντων ἑαυτοὺς Ἰουδαίους εἶναι, καὶ οὐκ εἰσίν, ἀλλὰ ψεύδονται· ἰδοὺ ποιήσω αὐτοὺς ἵνα ἥξουσιν καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν ἐνώπιον τῶν ποδῶν σου, καὶ γνῶσιν ὅτι ἐγὼ ἠγάπησά σε. [10]ὅτι ἐτήρησας τὸν λόγον τῆς ὑπομονῆς μου, κἀγώ σε τηρήσω ἐκ τῆς ὥρας τοῦ πειρασμοῦ τῆς μελλούσης ἔρχεσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ὅλης, πειράσαι τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. [11]ἔρχομαι ταχύ· κράτει ὃ ἔχεις, ἵνα μηδεὶς λάβῃ τὸν στέφανόν σου. [12]ὁ νικῶν, ποιήσω αὐτὸν στῦλον ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ θεοῦ μου, καὶ ἔξω οὐ μὴ ἐξέλθῃ ἔτι, καὶ γράψω ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ μου, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς πόλεως τοῦ θεοῦ μου, τῆς καινῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἡ καταβαίνουσα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μου, καὶ τὸ ὄνομά μου τὸ καινόν. [13]ὁ ἔχων οὖς ἀκουσάτω τί τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις.

[14]Καὶ τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῆς ἐν Λαοδικίᾳ ἐκκλησίας γράψον, Τάδε λέγει ὁ ἀμήν, ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστὸς καὶ ἀληθινός, ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ θεοῦ· [15]Οἶδά σου τὰ ἔργα, ὅτι οὔτε ψυχρὸς εἶ οὔτε ζεστός· ὄφελον ψυχρὸς ἦς ἢ ζεστός· [16]οὕτως ὅτι χλιαρὸς εἶ, καὶ οὔτε ζεστὸς οὔτε ψυχρός, μέλλω σε ἐμέσαι ἐκ τοῦ στόματός μου. [17]ὅτι λέγεις ὅτι Πλούσιός εἰμι, καὶ πεπλούτηκα καὶ

οὐδὲν χρείαν ἔχω, καὶ οὐκ οἶδας ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ ταλαίπωρος
καὶ ἐλεεινός, καὶ πτωχὸς καὶ τυφλὸς καὶ γυμνός· [18]συμ-
βουλεύω σοι ἀγοράσαι παρ' ἐμοῦ χρυσίον πεπυρωμένον
ἐκ πυρός, ἵνα πλουτήσῃς, καὶ ἱμάτια λευκά, ἵνα περι-
βάλῃ, καὶ μὴ φανερωθῇ ἡ αἰσχύνη τῆς γυμνότητός σου·
καὶ κολλύριον ἐγχρῖσαι τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς σου, ἵνα
βλέπῃς. [19]ἐγὼ ὅσους ἐὰν φιλῶ, ἐλέγχω καὶ παιδεύω·
ζήλευε οὖν καὶ μετανόησον. [20]ἰδοὺ ἕστηκα ἐπὶ τὴν
θύραν καὶ κρούω· ἐάν τις ἀκούσῃ τῆς φωνῆς μου, καὶ
ἀνοίξῃ τὴν θύραν, εἰσελεύσομαι πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ δειπνήσω
μετ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ αὐτὸς μετ' ἐμοῦ. [21]Ὁ νικῶν, δώσω
αὐτῷ καθίσαι μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ μου, ὡς κἀγὼ
ἐνίκησα, καὶ ἐκάθισα μετὰ τοῦ πατρός μου ἐν τῷ
θρόνῳ αὐτοῦ. [22]ὁ ἔχων οὖς ἀκουσάτω τί τὸ πνεῦμα
λέγει ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις.

4 [1]Μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον, καὶ ἰδοὺ θύρα ἠνεῳγμένη
ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, καὶ ἡ φωνὴ ἡ πρώτη ἣν ἤκουσα ὡς
σάλπιγγος λαλούσης μετ' ἐμοῦ, λέγων, Ἀνάβα ὧδε,
καὶ δείξω σοι ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα. [2]εὐθέως
ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι· καὶ ἰδοὺ θρόνος ἔκειτο ἐν τῷ
οὐρανῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον καθήμενος· [3]καὶ ὁ καθήμενος
ὅμοιος ὁράσει λίθῳ ἰάσπιδι καὶ σαρδίῳ. καὶ ἶρις κυκλό-
θεν τοῦ θρόνου ὅμοιος ὁράσει σμαραγδίνῳ. [4]καὶ κυ-
κλόθεν τοῦ θρόνου θρόνοι εἴκοσι τέσσαρες· καὶ ἐπὶ
τοὺς θρόνους εἴκοσι τέσσαρας πρεσβυτέρους καθημένους,
περιβεβλημένους ἐν ἱματίοις λευκοῖς· καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς κεφα-
λὰς αὐτῶν στεφάνους χρυσοῦς. [5]καὶ ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου
ἐκπορεύονται ἀστραπαὶ καὶ φωναὶ καὶ βρονταί. καὶ
ἑπτὰ λαμπάδες πυρὸς καιόμεναι ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου,
ἅ εἰσιν τὰ ἑπτὰ πνεύματα τοῦ θεοῦ· [6]καὶ ἐνώπιον τοῦ
θρόνου ὡς θάλασσα ὑαλίνη ὁμοία κρυστάλλῳ. καὶ ἐν

μέσῳ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ κύκλῳ τοῦ θρόνου τέσσερα ζῷα γέμοντα ὀφθαλμῶν ἔμπροσθεν καὶ ὄπισθεν. 7καὶ τὸ ζῷον τὸ πρῶτον ὅμοιον λέοντι, καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ζῷον ὅμοιον μόσχῳ, καὶ τὸ τρίτον ζῷον ἔχων τὸ πρόσωπον ὡς ἀνθρώπου, καὶ τὸ τέταρτον ζῷον ὅμοιον ἀετῷ πετομένῳ. 8καὶ τὰ τέσσερα ζῷα, ἓν καθ' ἓν αὐτῶν ἔχων ἀνὰ πτέρυγας ἕξ, κυκλόθεν καὶ ἔσωθεν γέμουσιν ὀφθαλμῶν, καὶ ἀνάπαυσιν οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός, λέγοντες, Ἅγιος ἅγιος ἅγιος κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος. 9Καὶ ὅταν δώσουσιν τὰ ζῷα δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν καὶ εὐχαριστίαν τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ, τῷ ζῶντι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, 10πεσοῦνται οἱ εἴκοσι τέσσαρες πρεσβύτεροι ἐνώπιον τοῦ καθημένου ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου, καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν τῷ ζῶντι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, καὶ βαλοῦσιν τοὺς στεφάνους αὐτῶν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου, λέγοντες, 11Ἄξιος εἶ, ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, λαβεῖν τὴν δόξαν καὶ τὴν τιμὴν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν· ὅτι σὺ ἔκτισας τὰ πάντα, καὶ διὰ τὸ θέλημά σου ἦσαν καὶ ἐκτίσθησαν.

5 1Καὶ εἶδον ἐπὶ τὴν δεξιὰν τοῦ καθημένου ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου βιβλίον γεγραμμένον ἔσωθεν καὶ ὄπισθεν, κατεσφραγισμένον σφραγῖσιν ἑπτά. 2καὶ εἶδον ἄγγελον ἰσχυρὸν κηρύσσοντα ἐν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ, Τίς ἄξιος ἀνοῖξαι τὸ βιβλίον, καὶ λῦσαι τὰς σφραγῖδας αὐτοῦ; 3καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, οὐδὲ ὑποκάτω τῆς γῆς, ἀνοῖξαι τὸ βιβλίον, οὔτε βλέπειν αὐτό. 4καὶ [ἐγὼ] ἔκλαιον πολύ, ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἄξιος εὑρέθη ἀνοῖξαι τὸ βιβλίον οὔτε βλέπειν αὐτό. 5καὶ εἷς ἐκ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων λέγει μοι, Μὴ κλαῖε· ἰδοὺ ἐνίκησεν ὁ λέων ὁ ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Ἰούδα, ἡ ῥίζα Δαυείδ, ἀνοῖξαι τὸ βιβλίον καὶ τὰς ἑπτὰ σφραγῖδας αὐτοῦ. 6Καὶ εἶδον ἐν

μέσῳ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ τῶν τεσσάρων ζῴων, καὶ ἐν μέσῳ
τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, ἀρνίον ἑστηκὼς ὡς ἐσφαγμένον, ἔχων
κέρατα ἑπτὰ καὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς ἑπτά, οἵ εἰσιν τὰ ἑπτὰ
πνεύματα τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀπεσταλμένοι εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν.
7 καὶ ἦλθεν καὶ εἴληφεν ἐκ τῆς δεξιᾶς τοῦ καθημένου
ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου. 8 καὶ ὅτε ἔλαβεν τὸ βιβλίον, τὰ τέσσερα
ζῷα καὶ οἱ εἴκοσι τέσσαρες πρεσβύτεροι ἔπεσαν ἐνώπιον
τοῦ ἀρνίου, ἔχοντες ἕκαστος κιθάραν, καὶ φιάλας χρυσᾶς
γεμούσας θυμιαμάτων, αἵ εἰσιν αἱ προσευχαὶ τῶν ἁγίων·
9 καὶ ᾄδουσιν ᾠδὴν καινήν, λέγοντες, Ἄξιος εἶ λαβεῖν
τὸ βιβλίον, καὶ ἀνοῖξαι τὰς σφραγῖδας αὐτοῦ· ὅτι
ἐσφάγης καὶ ἠγόρασας τῷ θεῷ ἐν τῷ αἵματί σου ἐκ
πάσης φυλῆς καὶ γλώσσης καὶ λαοῦ καὶ ἔθνους, 10 καὶ
ἐποίησας αὐτοὺς τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν βασιλείαν καὶ ἱερεῖς·
καὶ βασιλεύ[σ]ουσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. 11 καὶ εἶδον, καὶ
ἤκουσα ὡς φωνὴν ἀγγέλων πολλῶν κύκλῳ τοῦ θρόνου
καὶ τῶν ζῴων καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων· καὶ ἦν ὁ ἀριθμὸς
αὐτῶν μυριάδες μυριάδων καὶ χιλιάδες χιλιάδων, 12 λέ-
γοντες φωνῇ μεγάλῃ, Ἄξιόν ἐστιν τὸ ἀρνίον τὸ ἐσφαγ-
μένον λαβεῖν τὴν δύναμιν καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ σοφίαν καὶ
ἰσχὺν καὶ τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν καὶ εὐλογίαν. 13 καὶ πᾶν
κτίσμα ὃ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ὑποκάτω
τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐστίν, καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς
πάντα, ἤκουσα λέγοντας, Τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου
καὶ τῷ ἀρνίῳ ἡ εὐλογία καὶ ἡ τιμὴ καὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ
κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. 14 Καὶ τὰ τέσσερα
ζῷα ἔλεγον, Ἀμήν· καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἔπεσαν καὶ
προσεκύνησαν.

6 1 Καὶ εἶδον ὅτε ἤνοιξεν τὸ ἀρνίον μίαν ἐκ τῶν
ἑπτὰ σφραγίδων, καὶ ἤκουσα ἑνὸς ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων
ζῴων λέγοντος, ὡς φωνὴ βροντῆς, Ἔρχου. 2 καὶ εἶδον,

καὶ ἰδοὺ ἵππος λευκός, καὶ ὁ καθήμενος ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἔχων τόξον· καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ στέφανος, καὶ ἐξῆλθεν νικῶν, καὶ ἵνα νικήσῃ.

[3]Καὶ ὅτε ἤνοιξεν τὴν σφραγῖδα τὴν δευτέραν, ἤκουσα τοῦ δευτέρου ζῴου λέγοντος, Ἔρχου. [4]καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἄλλος ἵππος πυρρός· καὶ τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐδόθη αὐτῷ λαβεῖν τὴν εἰρήνην ἐκ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἵνα ἀλλήλους σφάξουσιν· καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ μάχαιρα μεγάλη.

[5]Καὶ ὅτε ἤνοιξεν τὴν σφραγῖδα τὴν τρίτην, ἤκουσα τοῦ τρίτου ζῴου λέγοντος, Ἔρχου. καὶ εἶδον, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἵππος μέλας, καὶ ὁ καθήμενος ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἔχων ζυγὸν ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ. [6]καὶ ἤκουσα ὡς φωνὴν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν τεσσάρων ζώων λέγουσαν, Χοῖνιξ σίτου δηναρίου, καὶ τρεῖς χοίνικες κριθῶν δηναρίου· καὶ τὸ ἔλαιον καὶ τὸν οἶνον μὴ ἀδικήσῃς.

[7]Καὶ ὅτε ἤνοιξεν τὴν σφραγῖδα τὴν τετάρτην, ἤκουσα φωνὴν τοῦ τετάρτου ζῴου λέγοντος, Ἔρχου. [8]καὶ εἶδον, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἵππος χλωρός, καὶ ὁ καθήμενος ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ, ὄνομα αὐτῷ ὁ θάνατος, καὶ ὁ ᾅδης ἠκολούθει μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς ἐξουσία ἐπὶ τὸ τέταρτον τῆς γῆς, ἀποκτεῖναι ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ καὶ ἐν λιμῷ καὶ ἐν θανάτῳ, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων τῆς γῆς.

[9]Καὶ ὅτε ἤνοιξεν τὴν πέμπτην σφραγῖδα, εἶδον ὑποκάτω τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἐσφαγμένων διὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ διὰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἣν εἶχον· [10]καὶ ἔκραξαν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ, λέγοντες, Ἕως πότε, ὁ δεσπότης ὁ ἅγιος καὶ ἀληθινός, οὐ κρίνεις καὶ ἐκδικεῖς τὸ αἷμα ἡμῶν ἐκ τῶν κατοικούντων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς; [11]καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς ἑκάστῳ στολὴ λευκή, καὶ ἐρρέθη αὐτοῖς ἵνα ἀναπαύσωνται ἔτι χρόνον μικρόν, ἕως πληρώσωσιν καὶ οἱ σύνδουλοι αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτῶν, οἱ μέλλοντες ἀποκτέννεσθαι ὡς καὶ αὐτοί.

[12]Καὶ εἶδον ὅτε ἤνοιξεν τὴν σφραγῖδα τὴν ἕκτην· καὶ σεισμὸς μέγας ἐγένετο, καὶ ὁ ἥλιος ἐγένετο μέλας ὡς σάκκος τρίχινος, καὶ ἡ σελήνη ὅλη ἐγένετο ὡς αἷμα, [13]καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἔπεσαν εἰς τὴν γῆν, ὡς συκῆ βάλλει τοὺς ὀλύνθους αὐτῆς, ὑπὸ ἀνέμου μεγάλου σειομένη· [14]καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς ἀπεχωρίσθη ὡς βιβλίον ἑλισσόμενον, καὶ πᾶν ὄρος καὶ νῆσος ἐκ τῶν τόπων αὐτῶν ἐκινήθησαν· [15]καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς, καὶ οἱ μεγιστᾶνες, καὶ οἱ χιλίαρχοι, καὶ οἱ πλούσιοι, καὶ οἱ ἰσχυροί, καὶ πᾶς δοῦλος καὶ ἐλεύθερος ἔκρυψαν ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τὰ σπήλαια καὶ εἰς τὰς πέτρας τῶν ὀρέων. [16]καὶ λέγουσιν τοῖς ὄρεσιν καὶ ταῖς πέτραις, Πέσετε ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, καὶ κρύψατε ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ καθημένου ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς τοῦ ἀρνίου· [17]ὅτι ἦλθεν ἡ ἡμέρα ἡ μεγάλη τῆς ὀργῆς αὐτῶν, καὶ τίς δύναται σταθῆναι;

7 [1]Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο εἶδον τέσσαρας ἀγγέλους ἑστῶτας ἐπὶ τὰς τέσσαρας γωνίας τῆς γῆς, κρατοῦντας τοὺς τέσσαρας ἀνέμους τῆς γῆς, ἵνα μὴ πνέῃ ἄνεμος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, μήτε ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης, μήτε ἐπὶ πᾶν δένδρον. [2]Καὶ εἶδον ἄλλον ἄγγελον ἀναβαίνοντα ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς ἡλίου, ἔχοντα σφραγῖδα θεοῦ ζῶντος· καὶ ἔκραξεν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ τοῖς τέσσαρσιν ἀγγέλοις, οἷς ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς ἀδικῆσαι τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, [3]λέγων, Μὴ ἀδικήσητε τὴν γῆν, μήτε τὴν θάλασσαν, μήτε τὰ δένδρα, ἄχρι σφραγίσωμεν τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων αὐτῶν. [4]Καὶ ἤκουσα τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἐσφραγισμένων· ἑκατὸν τεσσεράκοντα τέσσαρες χιλιάδες, ἐσφραγισμένοι ἐκ πάσης φυλῆς υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ· [5]ἐκ φυλῆς Ἰούδα, δώδεκα χιλιάδες ἐσφραγισμένοι· ἐκ φυλῆς Ῥουβήν, δώδεκα χιλιάδες· ἐκ φυλῆς Γάδ, δώδεκα χιλιάδες· [6]ἐκ φυλῆς Ἀσήρ, δώδεκα χιλιάδες· ἐκ φυλῆς

Νεφθαλείμ, δώδεκα χιλιάδες· ἐκ φυλῆς Μανασσῆ, δώδεκα χιλιάδες· [7]ἐκ φυλῆς Συμεών, δώδεκα χιλιάδες· ἐκ φυλῆς Λευεί, δώδεκα χιλιάδες· ἐκ φυλῆς Ἰσσαχάρ, δώδεκα χιλιάδες· [8]ἐκ φυλῆς Ζαβουλών, δώδεκα χιλιάδες· ἐκ φυλῆς Ἰωσήφ, δώδεκα χιλιάδες· ἐκ φυλῆς Βενιαμείν, δώδεκα χιλιάδες ἐσφραγισμένοι.

[9]Μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον, καὶ ἰδοὺ ὄχλος πολύς, ὃν ἀριθμῆσαι αὐτὸν οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο, ἐκ παντὸς ἔθνους καὶ φυλῶν καὶ λαῶν καὶ γλωσσῶν, ἑστῶτες ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου καὶ ἐνώπιον τοῦ ἀρνίου, περιβεβλημένους στολὰς λευκάς, καὶ φοίνικες ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτῶν· [10]καὶ κράζουσιν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ, λέγοντες, Ἡ σωτηρία τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ, καὶ τῷ ἀρνίῳ. [11]καὶ πάντες οἱ ἄγγελοι εἱστήκεισαν κύκλῳ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ τῶν τεσσάρων ζῴων, καὶ ἔπεσαν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν, καὶ προσεκύνησαν τῷ θεῷ, [12]λέγοντες, Ἀμήν· ἡ εὐλογία καὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ σοφία καὶ ἡ εὐχαριστία καὶ ἡ τιμὴ καὶ ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ ἰσχὺς τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων· ἀμήν. [13]Καὶ ἀπεκρίθη εἷς ἐκ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, λέγων μοι, Οὗτοι οἱ περιβεβλημένοι τὰς στολὰς τὰς λευκάς, τίνες εἰσίν, καὶ πόθεν ἦλθον; [14]καὶ εἴρηκα αὐτῷ, Κύριέ μου, σὺ οἶδας. καὶ εἶπέν μοι, Οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἐρχόμενοι ἐκ τῆς θλίψεως τῆς μεγάλης, καὶ ἔπλυναν τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐλεύκαναν αὐτὰς ἐν τῷ αἵματι τοῦ ἀρνίου. [15]διὰ τοῦτό εἰσιν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ λατρεύουσιν αὐτῷ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἐν τῷ ναῷ αὐτοῦ· καὶ ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου σκηνώσει ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς. [16]οὐ πεινάσουσιν ἔτι, οὐδὲ διψήσουσιν ἔτι, οὐδὲ μὴ πέσῃ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς ὁ ἥλιος, οὐδὲ πᾶν καῦμα. [17]ὅτι τὸ ἀρνίον τὸ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ θρόνου ποιμανεῖ αὐτούς, καὶ

ὁδηγήσει αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ζωῆς πηγὰς ὑδάτων· καὶ ἐξαλείψει ὁ θεὸς πᾶν δάκρυον ἐκ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν.

8 [1]Καὶ ὅταν ἤνοιξεν τὴν σφραγῖδα τὴν ἑβδόμην, ἐγένετο σιγὴ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ὡς ἡμίωρον. [2]καὶ εἶδον τοὺς ἑπτὰ ἀγγέλους, οἳ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ ἑστήκασιν, καὶ ἐδόθησαν αὐτοῖς ἑπτὰ σάλπιγγες. [3]καὶ ἄλλος ἄγγελος ἦλθεν, καὶ ἐστάθη ἐπὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, ἔχων λιβανωτὸν χρυσοῦν· καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ θυμιάματα πολλά, ἵνα δώσει ταῖς προσευχαῖς τῶν ἁγίων πάντων ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τὸ χρυσοῦν τὸ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου. [4]καὶ ἀνέβη ὁ καπνὸς τῶν θυμιαμάτων ταῖς προσευχαῖς τῶν ἁγίων, ἐκ χειρὸς τοῦ ἀγγέλου, ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ. [5]καὶ εἴληφεν ὁ ἄγγελος τὸν λιβανωτόν, καὶ ἐγέμισεν αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, καὶ ἔβαλεν εἰς τὴν γῆν· καὶ ἐγένοντο βρονταὶ καὶ φωναὶ καὶ ἀστραπαὶ καὶ σεισμός. [6]Καὶ οἱ ἑπτὰ ἄγγελοι οἱ ἔχοντες τὰς ἑπτὰ σάλπιγγας ἡτοίμασαν αὐτοὺς ἵνα σαλπίσωσιν. [7]Καὶ ὁ πρῶτος ἐσάλπισεν, καὶ ἐγένετο χάλαζα καὶ πῦρ μεμιγμένα ἐν αἵματι, καὶ ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν γῆν· καὶ τὸ τρίτον τῆς γῆς κατεκάη, καὶ τὸ τρίτον τῶν δένδρων κατεκάη, καὶ πᾶς χόρτος χλωρὸς κατεκάη. [8]Καὶ ὁ δεύτερος ἄγγελος ἐσάλπισεν, καὶ ὡς ὄρος μέγα πυρὶ καιόμενον ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν· καὶ ἐγένετο τὸ τρίτον τῆς θαλάσσης αἷμα. [9]καὶ ἀπέθανεν τὸ τρίτον τῶν κτισμάτων τῶν ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, τὰ ἔχοντα ψυχάς, καὶ τὸ τρίτον τῶν πλοίων διεφθάρησαν. [10]Καὶ ὁ τρίτος ἄγγελος ἐσάλπισεν, καὶ ἔπεσεν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀστὴρ μέγας καιόμενος ὡς λαμπάς, καὶ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὸ τρίτον τῶν ποταμῶν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς τῶν ὑδάτων. [11]καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἀστέρος λέγεται Ἄψινθος· καὶ ἐγένετο τὸ τρίτον τῶν ὑδάτων εἰς ἄψινθον, καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώ-

πων ἀπέθανον ἐκ τῶν ὑδάτων, ὅτι ἐπικράνθησαν. 12 Καὶ ὁ τέταρτος ἄγγελος ἐσάλπισεν, καὶ ἐπλήγη τὸ τρίτον τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ τὸ τρίτον τῆς σελήνης καὶ τὸ τρίτον τῶν ἀστέρων, ἵνα σκοτισθῇ τὸ τρίτον αὐτῶν, καὶ ἡ ἡμέρα μὴ φάνῃ τὸ τρίτον αὐτῆς, καὶ ἡ νὺξ ὁμοίως. 13 Καὶ εἶδον, καὶ ἤκουσα ἑνὸς ἀετοῦ πετομένου ἐν μεσουρανήματι, λέγοντος φωνῇ μεγάλῃ, Οὐαί, οὐαί, οὐαὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἐκ τῶν λοιπῶν φωνῶν τῆς σάλπιγγος τῶν τριῶν ἀγγέλων τῶν μελλόντων σαλπίζειν.

9 1 Καὶ ὁ πέμπτος ἄγγελος ἐσάλπισεν, καὶ εἶδον ἀστέρα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πεπτωκότα εἰς τὴν γῆν, καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ἡ κλεὶς τοῦ φρέατος τῆς ἀβύσσου, 2 καὶ ἤνοιξεν τὸ φρέαρ τῆς ἀβύσσου. καὶ ἀνέβη καπνὸς ἐκ τοῦ φρέατος ὡς καπνὸς καμίνου μεγάλης, καὶ ἐσκοτίσθη ὁ ἥλιος καὶ ὁ ἀὴρ ἐκ τοῦ καπνοῦ τοῦ φρέατος· 3 καὶ ἐκ τοῦ καπνοῦ ἐξῆλθον ἀκρίδες εἰς τὴν γῆν, καὶ ἐδόθη αὐταῖς ἐξουσία, ὡς ἔχουσιν ἐξουσίαν οἱ σκορπίοι τῆς γῆς· 4 καὶ ἐρρέθη αὐταῖς ἵνα μὴ ἀδικήσωσιν τὸν χόρτον τῆς γῆς, οὐδὲ πᾶν χλωρόν, οὐδὲ πᾶν δένδρον, εἰ μὴ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους οἵτινες οὐκ ἔχουσιν τὴν σφραγῖδα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων. 5 καὶ ἐδόθη αὐταῖς ἵνα μὴ ἀποκτείνωσιν αὐτούς, ἀλλ' ἵνα βασανισθήσονται μῆνας πέντε· καὶ ὁ βασανισμὸς αὐτῶν ὡς βασανισμὸς σκορπίου, ὅταν παίσῃ ἄνθρωπον· 6 καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις ζητήσουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὸν θάνατον, καὶ οὐ μὴ εὑρήσουσιν αὐτόν· καὶ ἐπιθυμήσουσιν ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ φεύγει ὁ θάνατος ἀπ' αὐτῶν. 7 Καὶ τὰ ὁμοιώματα τῶν ἀκρίδων ὅμοια ἵπποις ἡτοιμασμένοις εἰς πόλεμον, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν ὡς στέφανοι ὅμοιοι χρυσῷ, καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν ὡς πρόσωπα ἀνθρώπων· 8 καὶ εἶχαν

τρίχας ὡς τρίχας γυναικῶν· καὶ οἱ ὀδόντες αὐτῶν ὡς
λεόντων ἦσαν. [9]καὶ εἶχον θώρακας ὡς θώρακας σι-
δηροῦς· καὶ ἡ φωνὴ τῶν πτερύγων αὐτῶν ὡς φωνὴ
ἁρμάτων ἵππων πολλῶν τρεχόντων εἰς πόλεμον. [10]καὶ
ἔχουσιν οὐρὰς ὁμοίας σκορπίοις, καὶ κέντρα· καὶ ἐν
ταῖς οὐραῖς αὐτῶν ἡ ἐξουσία αὐτῶν, ἀδικῆσαι τοὺς ἀν-
θρώπους μῆνας πέντε. [11]ἔχουσιν ἐπ' αὐτῶν βασιλέα
τὸν ἄγγελον τῆς ἀβύσσου· ὄνομα αὐτῷ Ἑβρα�ϊστὶ
Ἀβαδδών, καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἑλληνικῇ ὄνομα ἔχει Ἀπολλύων.
[12]Ἡ οὐαὶ ἡ μία ἀπῆλθεν· ἰδοὺ ἔρχεται ἔτι δύο οὐαὶ
μετὰ ταῦτα.

[13]Καὶ ὁ ἕκτος ἄγγελος ἐσάλπισεν, καὶ ἤκουσα φωνὴν
μίαν ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων κεράτων τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου τοῦ
χρυσοῦ τοῦ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ, [14]λέγοντα τῷ ἕκτῳ ἀγγέλῳ
ὁ ἔχων τὴν σάλπιγγα, Λῦσον τοὺς τέσσαρας ἀγγέλους
τοὺς δεδεμένους ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ μεγάλῳ Εὐφράτῃ.
[15]καὶ ἐλύθησαν οἱ τέσσαρες ἄγγελοι οἱ ἡτοιμασμένοι εἰς
τὴν ὥραν καὶ ἡμέραν καὶ μῆνα καὶ ἐνιαυτόν, ἵνα ἀποκτεί-
νωσιν τὸ τρίτον τῶν ἀνθρώπων. [16]καὶ ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν
στρατευμάτων τοῦ ἱππικοῦ δύο μυριάδες μυριάδων· ἤκου-
σα τὸν ἀριθμὸν αὐτῶν. [17]καὶ οὕτως εἶδον τοὺς ἵππους
ἐν τῇ ὁράσει, καὶ τοὺς καθημένους ἐπ' αὐτῶν, ἔχοντας
θώρακας πυρίνους καὶ ὑακινθίνους καὶ θειώδεις· καὶ αἱ
κεφαλαὶ τῶν ἵππων ὡς κεφαλαὶ λεόντων, καὶ ἐκ τῶν
στομάτων αὐτῶν ἐκπορεύεται πῦρ καὶ καπνὸς καὶ θεῖον.
[18]ἀπὸ τῶν τριῶν πληγῶν τούτων ἀπεκτάνθησαν τὸ
τρίτον τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ τοῦ καπνοῦ καὶ
τοῦ θείου τοῦ ἐκπορευομένου ἐκ τῶν στομάτων αὐτῶν.
[19]ἡ γὰρ ἐξουσία τῶν ἵππων ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν ἐστὶν
καὶ ἐν ταῖς οὐραῖς αὐτῶν· αἱ γὰρ οὐραὶ αὐτῶν ὅμοιαι
ὄφεσιν, ἔχουσαι κεφαλάς, καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς ἀδικοῦσιν.

[20]Καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οἳ οὐκ ἀπεκτάνθησαν
ἐν ταῖς πληγαῖς ταύταις, οὔτε μετενόησαν ἐκ τῶν ἔργων
τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῶν, ἵνα μὴ προσκυνήσουσιν τὰ δαιμόνια,
καὶ τὰ εἴδωλα τὰ χρυσᾶ καὶ τὰ ἀργυρᾶ καὶ τὰ χαλκᾶ
καὶ τὰ λίθινα καὶ τὰ ξύλινα, ἃ οὔτε βλέπειν δύνανται
οὔτε ἀκούειν οὔτε περιπατεῖν, [21]καὶ οὐ μετενόησαν ἐκ
τῶν φόνων αὐτῶν οὔτε ἐκ τῶν φαρμακιῶν αὐτῶν, οὔτε
ἐκ τῆς πορνείας αὐτῶν, οὔτε ἐκ τῶν κλεμμάτων αὐτῶν.

10 [1]Καὶ εἶδον ἄλλον ἄγγελον ἰσχυρὸν καταβαί-
νοντα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, περιβεβλημένον νεφέλην, καὶ ἡ
ἶρις ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ὡς
ὁ ἥλιος, καὶ οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὡς στῦλοι πυρός, [2]καὶ ἔχων
ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ βιβλαρίδιον ἠνεῳγμένον· καὶ ἔθηκεν
τὸν πόδα αὐτοῦ τὸν δεξιὸν ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης, τὸν δὲ
εὐώνυμον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, [3]καὶ ἔκραξεν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ ὥσπερ
λέων μυκᾶται· καὶ ὅτε ἔκραξεν, ἐλάλησαν αἱ ἑπτὰ
βρονταὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν φωνάς. [4]καὶ ὅτε ἐλάλησαν αἱ
ἑπτὰ βρονταί, ἔμελλον γράφειν· καὶ ἤκουσα φωνὴν
ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, λέγουσαν, Σφράγισον ἃ ἐλάλησαν αἱ
ἑπτὰ βρονταί, καὶ μὴ αὐτὰ γράψῃς. [5]καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος,
ὃν εἶδον ἑστῶτα ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς,
ἦρεν τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ τὴν δεξιὰν εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, [6]καὶ
ὤμοσεν ἐν τῷ ζῶντι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ὃς
ἔκτισεν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὰ
ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ, ὅτι χρόνος
οὐκέτι ἔσται, [7]ἀλλ᾽ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς φωνῆς τοῦ ἑβδόμου
ἀγγέλου, ὅταν μέλλῃ σαλπίζειν, καὶ ἐτελέσθη τὸ μυστή-
ριον τοῦ θεοῦ, ὡς εὐηγγέλισεν τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ δούλους τοὺς
προφήτας. [8]Καὶ ἡ φωνὴ ἣν ἤκουσα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ,
πάλιν λαλοῦσαν μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ, καὶ λέγουσαν, Ὕπαγε, λάβε
τὸ βιβλαρίδιον τὸ ἠνεῳγμένον ἐν τῇ χειρὶ τοῦ ἀγγέλου τοῦ

ἑστῶτος ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. [9]καὶ ἀπῆλθον πρὸς τὸν ἄγγελον, λέγων αὐτῷ δοῦναί μοι τὸ βιβλαρίδιον. καὶ λέγει μοι, Λάβε καὶ κατάφαγε αὐτό· καὶ πικρανεῖ σου τὴν κοιλίαν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ στόματί σου ἔσται γλυκὺ ὡς μέλι. [10]καὶ ἔλαβον τὸ βιβλαρίδιον ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ ἀγγέλου, καὶ κατέφαγον αὐτό· καὶ ἦν ἐν τῷ στόματί μου ὡς μέλι, γλυκύ· καὶ ὅτε ἔφαγον αὐτό, ἐπικράνθη ἡ κοιλία μου. [11]καὶ λέγουσίν μοι, Δεῖ σε πάλιν προφητεῦσαι ἐπὶ λαοῖς καὶ ἔθνεσιν καὶ γλώσσαις καὶ βασιλεῦσιν πολλοῖς.

11 [1]Καὶ ἐδόθη μοι κάλαμος ὅμοιος ῥάβδῳ, λέγων, Ἔγειρε, καὶ μέτρησον τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον, καὶ τοὺς προσκυνοῦντας ἐν αὐτῷ· [2]καὶ τὴν αὐλὴν τὴν ἔξωθεν τοῦ ναοῦ ἔκβαλε ἔξωθεν, καὶ μὴ αὐτὴν μετρήσῃς, ὅτι ἐδόθη τοῖς ἔθνεσιν· καὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἁγίαν πατήσουσιν μῆνας τεσσεράκοντα δύο. [3]καὶ δώσω τοῖς δυσὶν μάρτυσίν μου, καὶ προφητεύσουσιν ἡμέρας χιλίας διακοσίας ἑξήκοντα, περιβεβλημένοι σάκκους. [4]Οὗτοί εἰσιν αἱ δύο ἐλαῖαι, καὶ αἱ δύο λυχνίαι αἱ ἐνώπιον τοῦ κυρίου τῆς γῆς ἑστῶτες. [5]καὶ εἴ τις αὐτοὺς θέλει ἀδικῆσαι, πῦρ ἐκπορεύεται ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτῶν, καὶ κατεσθίει τοὺς ἐχθροὺς αὐτῶν· καὶ εἴ τις αὐτοὺς θελήσῃ ἀδικῆσαι, οὕτως δεῖ αὐτὸν ἀποκτανθῆναι. [6]οὗτοι ἔχουσιν ἐξουσίαν κλεῖσαι τὸν οὐρανόν, ἵνα μὴ ὑετὸς βρέχῃ τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς προφητείας αὐτῶν· καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔχουσιν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων, στρέφειν αὐτὰ εἰς αἷμα, καὶ πατάξαι τὴν γῆν ἐν πάσῃ πληγῇ, ὁσάκις ἐὰν θελήσωσιν. [7]καὶ ὅταν τελέσωσιν τὴν μαρτυρίαν αὐτῶν, τὸ θηρίον τὸ ἀναβαῖνον ἐκ τῆς ἀβύσσου ποιήσει μετ' αὐτῶν πόλεμον, καὶ νικήσει αὐτούς, καὶ ἀποκτενεῖ αὐτούς. [8]καὶ τὸ πτῶμα αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῆς πλα-

τείας τῆς πόλεως τῆς μεγάλης, ἥτις καλεῖται πνευματικῶς Σόδομα καὶ Αἴγυπτος, ὅπου καὶ ὁ κύριος αὐτῶν ἐσταυρώθη. [9]καὶ βλέπουσιν ἐκ τῶν λαῶν καὶ φυλῶν καὶ γλωσσῶν καὶ ἐθνῶν τὸ πτῶμα αὐτῶν ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ ἥμισυ, καὶ τὰ πτώματα αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀφίουσιν τεθῆναι εἰς μνῆμα. [10]καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς χαίρουσιν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, καὶ εὐφραίνονται· καὶ δῶρα πέμψουσιν ἀλλήλοις, ὅτι οὗτοι οἱ δύο προφῆται ἐβασάνισαν τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. [11]καὶ μετὰ τὰς τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ ἥμισυ πνεῦμα ζωῆς ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσῆλθεν ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἔστησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας αὐτῶν, καὶ φόβος μέγας ἐπέπεσεν ἐπὶ τοὺς θεωροῦντας αὐτούς. [12]καὶ ἤκουσαν φωνὴν μεγάλην ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ λέγουσαν αὐτοῖς, Ἀνάβατε ὧδε. καὶ ἀνέβησαν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐν τῇ νεφέλῃ, καὶ ἐθεώρησαν αὐτοὺς οἱ ἐχθροὶ αὐτῶν. [13]Καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ ἐγένετο σεισμὸς μέγας, καὶ τὸ δέκατον τῆς πόλεως ἔπεσεν, καὶ ἀπεκτάνθησαν ἐν τῷ σεισμῷ ὀνόματα ἀνθρώπων χιλιάδες ἑπτά· καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἔμφοβοι ἐγένοντο, καὶ ἔδωκαν δόξαν τῷ θεῷ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. [14]Ἡ οὐαὶ ἡ δευτέρα ἀπῆλθεν· ἰδοὺ ἡ οὐαὶ ἡ τρίτη ἔρχεται ταχύ.

[15]Καὶ ὁ ἕβδομος ἄγγελος ἐσάλπισεν, καὶ ἐγένοντο φωναὶ μεγάλαι ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, λέγουσαι, Ἐγένετο ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ κόσμου τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ, καὶ βασιλεύσει εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. [16]Καὶ οἱ εἴκοσι τέσσαρες πρεσβύτεροι οἱ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ, οἱ κάθηνται ἐπὶ τοὺς θρόνους αὐτῶν, ἔπεσαν ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν, καὶ προσεκύνησαν τῷ θεῷ, [17]λέγοντες, Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, κύριε ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν, ὅτι εἴληφας τὴν δύναμίν σου τὴν μεγάλην, καὶ ἐβασίλευσας. [18]καὶ τὰ ἔθνη ὠργίσθησαν, καὶ ἦλθεν

ἡ ὀργή σου, καὶ ὁ καιρὸς τῶν νεκρῶν κριθῆναι, καὶ δοῦναι τὸν μισθὸν τοῖς δούλοις σου τοῖς προφήταις, καὶ τοῖς ἁγίοις καὶ τοῖς φοβουμένοις τὸ ὄνομά σου, τοῖς μικροῖς καὶ τοῖς μεγάλοις, καὶ διαφθεῖραι τοὺς διαφθείροντας τὴν γῆν. [19]Καὶ ἠνοίγη ὁ ναὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, καὶ ὤφθη ἡ κιβωτὸς τῆς διαθήκης αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ναῷ αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἐγένοντο ἀστραπαὶ καὶ φωναὶ καὶ βρονταὶ καὶ σεισμὸς καὶ χάλαζα μεγάλη.

12 [1]Καὶ σημεῖον μέγα ὤφθη ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, γυνὴ περιβεβλημένη τὸν ἥλιον, καὶ ἡ σελήνη ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν αὐτῆς, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῆς στέφανος ἀστέρων δώδεκα· [2]καὶ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα κράζει ὠδίνουσα καὶ βασανιζομένη τεκεῖν. [3]Καὶ ὤφθη ἄλλο σημεῖον ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, καὶ ἰδοὺ δράκων πυρρὸς μέγας, ἔχων κεφαλὰς ἑπτὰ καὶ κέρατα δέκα, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτοῦ ἑπτὰ διαδήματα· [4]καὶ ἡ οὐρὰ αὐτοῦ σύρει τὸ τρίτον τῶν ἀστέρων τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἔβαλεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν γῆν. Καὶ ὁ δράκων ἕστηκεν ἐνώπιον τῆς γυναικὸς τῆς μελλούσης τεκεῖν, ἵνα ὅταν τέκῃ, τὸ τέκνον αὐτῆς καταφάγῃ. [5]καὶ ἔτεκεν υἱόν, ἄρσεν, ὃς μέλλει ποιμαίνειν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ· καὶ ἡρπάσθη τὸ τέκνον αὐτῆς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ πρὸς τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ. [6]καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἔφυγεν εἰς τὴν ἔρημον, ὅπου ἔχει τόπον ἡτοιμασμένον ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἵνα ἐκεῖ τρέφουσιν αὐτὴν ἡμέρας χιλίας διακοσίας ἑξήκοντα.

[7]Καὶ ἐγένετο πόλεμος ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ· ὁ Μιχαὴλ καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ τοῦ πολεμῆσαι μετὰ τοῦ δράκοντος, καὶ ὁ δράκων ἐπολέμησεν καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ, [8]καὶ οὐκ ἴσχυσαν, οὐδὲ τόπος εὑρέθη αὐτῶν ἔτι ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. [9]καὶ ἐβλήθη ὁ δράκων ὁ μέγας, ὁ ὄφις ὁ ἀρχαῖος, ὁ κα-

λούμενος διάβολος καὶ ὁ Σατανᾶς, ὁ πλανῶν τὴν οἰκουμένην ὅλην· ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν γῆν, καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐβλήθησαν. 10 Καὶ ἤκουσα φωνὴν μεγάλην ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ λέγουσαν, Ἄρτι ἐγένετο ἡ σωτηρία καὶ ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν, καὶ ἡ ἐξουσία τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ· ὅτι ἐβλήθη ὁ κατήγορος τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν, ὁ κατηγορῶν αὐτῶν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός. 11 καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐνίκησαν αὐτὸν διὰ τὸ αἷμα τοῦ ἀρνίου, καὶ διὰ τὸν λόγον τῆς μαρτυρίας αὐτῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἠγάπησαν τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῶν ἄχρι θανάτου. 12 διὰ τοῦτο εὐφραίνεσθε οὐρανοὶ καὶ οἱ ἐν αὐτοῖς σκηνοῦντες. οὐαὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, ὅτι κατέβη ὁ διάβολος πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔχων θυμὸν μέγαν, εἰδὼς ὅτι ὀλίγον καιρὸν ἔχει. 13 Καὶ ὅτε εἶδεν ὁ δράκων ὅτι ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν γῆν, ἐδίωξεν τὴν γυναῖκα ἥτις ἔτεκεν τὸν ἄρσενα. 14 καὶ ἐδόθησαν τῇ γυναικὶ αἱ δύο πτέρυγες τοῦ ἀετοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου, ἵνα πέτηται εἰς τὴν ἔρημον εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτῆς, ὅπου τρέφεται ἐκεῖ καιρὸν καὶ καιροὺς καὶ ἥμισυ καιροῦ, ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ ὄφεως. 15 καὶ ἔβαλεν ὁ ὄφις ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ ὀπίσω τῆς γυναικὸς ὕδωρ ὡς ποταμόν, ἵνα αὐτὴν ποταμοφόρητον ποιήσῃ. 16 καὶ ἐβοήθησεν ἡ γῆ τῇ γυναικί, καὶ ἤνοιξεν ἡ γῆ τὸ στόμα αὐτῆς, καὶ κατέπιεν τὸν ποταμὸν ὃν ἔβαλεν ὁ δράκων ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ. 17 καὶ ὠργίσθη ὁ δράκων ἐπὶ τῇ γυναικί, καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ποιῆσαι πόλεμον μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτῆς, τῶν τηρούντων τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐχόντων τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ.

18 Καὶ ἐστάθην ἐπὶ τὴν ἄμμον τῆς θαλάσσης. **13** 1 καὶ εἶδον ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης θηρίον ἀναβαῖνον, ἔχον κέρατα δέκα καὶ κεφαλὰς ἑπτά, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν κεράτων αὐτοῦ δέκα

διαδήματα, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτοῦ ὀνόματα βλασφημίας. [2]καὶ τὸ θηρίον ὃ εἶδον ἦν ὅμοιον παρδάλει, καὶ οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὡς ἄρκου, καὶ τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ ὡς στόμα λέοντος. καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ ὁ δράκων τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐξουσίαν μεγάλην. [3]καὶ μίαν ἐκ τῶν κεφαλῶν αὐτοῦ ὡς ἐσφαγμένην εἰς θάνατον· καὶ ἡ πληγὴ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ ἐθεραπεύθη. καὶ ἐθαύμασεν ὅλη ἡ γῆ ὀπίσω τοῦ θηρίου, [4]καὶ προσεκύνησαν τῷ δράκοντι ὅτι ἔδωκεν τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῷ θηρίῳ, καὶ προσεκύνησαν τῷ θηρίῳ, λέγοντες, Τίς ὅμοιος τῷ θηρίῳ; καὶ τίς δύναται πολεμῆσαι μετ' αὐτοῦ; [5]καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ στόμα λαλοῦν μεγάλα καὶ βλασφημίας· καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ἐξουσία ποιῆσαι μῆνας τεσσεράκοντα δύο. [6]καὶ ἤνοιξεν τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ εἰς βλασφημίας πρὸς τὸν θεόν, βλασφημῆσαι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ, τοὺς ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ σκηνοῦντας. [7]καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ποιῆσαι πόλεμον μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων, καὶ νικῆσαι αὐτούς· καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ἐξουσία ἐπὶ πᾶσαν φυλὴν καὶ λαὸν καὶ γλῶσσαν καὶ ἔθνος. [8]καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν αὐτὸν πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, οὗ οὐ γέγραπται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ ἀρνίου τοῦ ἐσφαγμένου ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου. [9]Εἴ τις ἔχει οὖς, ἀκουσάτω. [10]Εἴ τις εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν, εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν ὑπάγει· εἴ τις ἐν μαχαίρῃ ἀποκτενεῖ, δεῖ αὐτὸν ἐν μαχαίρῃ ἀποκτανθῆναι. ὧδέ ἐστιν ἡ ὑπομονὴ καὶ ἡ πίστις τῶν ἁγίων.

[11]Καὶ εἶδον ἄλλο θηρίον ἀναβαῖνον ἐκ τῆς γῆς, καὶ εἶχεν κέρατα δύο ὅμοια ἀρνίῳ, καὶ ἐλάλει ὡς δράκων. [12]καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πρώτου θηρίου πᾶσαν ποιεῖ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ· καὶ ποιεῖ τὴν γῆν καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ κατοικοῦντας ἵνα προσκυνήσουσιν τὸ θηρίον τὸ πρῶτον

οὗ ἐθεραπεύθη ἡ πληγὴ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ· 13 καὶ ποιεῖ σημεῖα μεγάλα, ἵνα καὶ πῦρ ποιῇ καταβαίνειν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀνθρώπων. 14 καὶ πλανᾷ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, διὰ τὰ σημεῖα ἃ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ποιῆσαι ἐνώπιον τοῦ θηρίου, λέγων τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ποιῆσαι εἰκόνα τῷ θηρίῳ ὃς ἔχει τὴν πληγὴν τῆς μαχαίρης καὶ ἔζησεν. 15 καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ δοῦναι πνεῦμα τῇ εἰκόνι τοῦ θηρίου, ἵνα καὶ λαλήσῃ ἡ εἰκὼν τοῦ θηρίου, καὶ ποιήσῃ ὅσοι ἐὰν μὴ προσκυνήσωσιν τῇ εἰκόνι τοῦ θηρίου ἀποκτανθῶσιν. 16 καὶ ποιεῖ πάντας, τοὺς μικροὺς καὶ τοὺς μεγάλους, καὶ τοὺς πλουσίους καὶ τοὺς πτωχούς, καὶ τοὺς ἐλευθέρους καὶ τοὺς δούλους, ἵνα δῶσιν αὐτοῖς χάραγμα ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν τῆς δεξιᾶς, ἢ ἐπὶ τὸ μέτωπον αὐτῶν, 17 καὶ ἵνα μήτις δύνηται ἀγοράσαι ἢ πωλῆσαι, εἰ μὴ ὁ ἔχων τὸ χάραγμα, τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θηρίου, ἢ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ. 18 Ὧδε ἡ σοφία ἐστίν. ὁ ἔχων νοῦν ψηφισάτω τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ θηρίου· ἀριθμὸς γὰρ ἀνθρώπου ἐστίν· καὶ ὁ ἀριθμὸς αὐτοῦ χξϛ'.

14 1 Καὶ εἶδον, καὶ ἰδοὺ τὸ ἀρνίον ἑστὸς ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος Σιών, καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἑκατὸν τεσσεράκοντα τέσσαρες χιλιάδες, ἔχουσαι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένον ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων αὐτῶν. 2 καὶ ἤκουσα φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὡς φωνὴν ὑδάτων πολλῶν, καὶ ὡς φωνὴν βροντῆς μεγάλης· καὶ ἡ φωνὴ ἣν ἤκουσα ὡς κιθαρῳδῶν κιθαριζόντων ἐν ταῖς κιθάραις αὐτῶν. 3 καὶ ᾄδουσιν [ὡς] ᾠδὴν καινὴν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου, καὶ ἐνώπιον τῶν τεσσάρων ζῴων καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων. καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο μαθεῖν τὴν ᾠδήν, εἰ μὴ αἱ ἑκατὸν τεσσεράκοντα τέσσαρες χιλιάδες, οἱ ἠγορασμένοι ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς. 4 οὗτοί εἰσιν οἳ μετὰ γυναικῶν οὐκ ἐμολύν-

θησαν· παρθένοι γάρ εἰσιν. οὗτοι οἱ ἀκολουθοῦντες τῷ ἀρνίῳ ὅπου ἂν ὑπάγῃ. οὗτοι ἠγοράσθησαν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀπαρχὴ τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῷ ἀρνίῳ. [5]καὶ ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν οὐχ εὑρέθη ψεῦδος· ἄμωμοι γάρ εἰσιν.

[6]Καὶ εἶδον ἄλλον ἄγγελον πετόμενον ἐν μεσουρανήματι, ἔχοντα εὐαγγέλιον αἰώνιον εὐαγγελίσαι ἐπὶ τοὺς καθημένους ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶν ἔθνος καὶ φυλὴν καὶ γλῶσσαν καὶ λαόν, [7]λέγων ἐν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ, Φοβήθητε τὸν θεόν, καὶ δότε αὐτῷ δόξαν, ὅτι ἦλθεν ἡ ὥρα τῆς κρίσεως αὐτοῦ· καὶ προσκυνήσατε τῷ ποιήσαντι τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν καὶ πηγὰς ὑδάτων. [8]Καὶ ἄλλος δεύτερος ἄγγελος ἠκολούθησεν, λέγων, Ἔπεσεν, ἔπεσεν Βαβυλὼν ἡ μεγάλη, ἣ ἐκ τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ θυμοῦ τῆς πορνείας αὐτῆς πεπότικεν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη. [9]Καὶ ἄλλος ἄγγελος τρίτος ἠκολούθησεν αὐτοῖς, λέγων ἐν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ, Εἴ τις προσκυνεῖ τὸ θηρίον καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ, καὶ λαμβάνει χάραγμα ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου αὐτοῦ, ἢ ἐπὶ τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ, [10]καὶ αὐτὸς πίεται ἐκ τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ θυμοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ, τοῦ κεκερασμένου ἀκράτου ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ τῆς ὀργῆς αὐτοῦ, καὶ βασανισθήσεται ἐν πυρὶ καὶ θείῳ ἐνώπιον ἀγγέλων ἁγίων, καὶ ἐνώπιον τοῦ ἀρνίου· [11]καὶ ὁ καπνὸς τοῦ βασανισμοῦ αὐτῶν εἰς αἰῶνας αἰώνων ἀναβαίνει. καὶ οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἀνάπαυσιν ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς οἱ προσκυνοῦντες τὸ θηρίον καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἴ τις λαμβάνει τὸ χάραγμα τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ. [12]Ὧδε ἡ ὑπομονὴ τῶν ἁγίων ἐστίν, οἱ τηροῦντες τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν πίστιν Ἰησοῦ.

[13]Καὶ ἤκουσα φωνῆς ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, λεγούσης, Γράψον, Μακάριοι οἱ νεκροὶ οἱ ἐν κυρίῳ ἀποθνήσκοντες ἀπάρτι. Ναί, λέγει τὸ πνεῦμα, ἵνα ἀναπαήσονται ἐκ

τῶν κόπων αὐτῶν· τὰ γὰρ ἔργα αὐτῶν ἀκολουθεῖ μετ' αὐτῶν.

14 Καὶ εἶδον, καὶ ἰδοὺ νεφέλη λευκή, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν νεφέλην καθήμενον ὅμοιον υἱῷ ἀνθρώπου, ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ στέφανον χρυσοῦν, καὶ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ δρέπανον ὀξύ. 15 Καὶ ἄλλος ἄγγελος ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ, κράζων ἐν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπὶ τῆς νεφέλης, Πέμψον τὸ δρέπανόν σου, καὶ θέρισον, ὅτι ἦλθεν ἡ ὥρα θερίσαι, ὅτι ἐξηράνθη ὁ θερισμὸς τῆς γῆς. 16 καὶ ἔβαλεν ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῆς νεφέλης τὸ δρέπανον αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ ἐθερίσθη ἡ γῆ.

17 Καὶ ἄλλος ἄγγελος ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ἔχων καὶ αὐτὸς δρέπανον ὀξύ. 18 Καὶ ἄλλος ἄγγελος ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, ἔχων ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ τοῦ πυρός· καὶ ἐφώνησεν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ τῷ ἔχοντι τὸ δρέπανον τὸ ὀξύ, λέγων, Πέμψον σου τὸ δρέπανον τὸ ὀξύ, καὶ τρύγησον τοὺς βότρυας τῆς ἀμπέλου τῆς γῆς, ὅτι ἤκμασαν αἱ σταφυλαὶ αὐτῆς. 19 καὶ ἔβαλεν ὁ ἄγγελος τὸ δρέπανον αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν γῆν, καὶ ἐτρύγησεν τὴν ἄμπελον τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἔβαλεν εἰς τὴν ληνὸν τοῦ θυμοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν μέγαν. 20 καὶ ἐπατήθη ἡ ληνὸς ἔξωθεν τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἐξῆλθεν αἷμα ἐκ τῆς ληνοῦ ἄχρι τῶν χαλινῶν τῶν ἵππων, ἀπὸ σταδίων χιλίων ἑξακοσίων.

15 1 Καὶ εἶδον ἄλλο σημεῖον ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ μέγα καὶ θαυμαστόν, ἀγγέλους ἑπτά, ἔχοντας πληγὰς ἑπτὰ τὰς ἐσχάτας, ὅτι ἐν αὐταῖς ἐτελέσθη ὁ θυμὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. 2 Καὶ εἶδον ὡς θάλασσαν ὑαλίνην μεμιγμένην πυρί, καὶ τοὺς νικῶντας ἐκ τοῦ θηρίου καὶ ἐκ τῆς εἰκόνος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ, ἑστῶτας ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν ὑαλίνην, ἔχοντας κιθάρας τοῦ θεοῦ. 3 καὶ ᾄδουσιν τὴν ᾠδὴν Μωϋσέως τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ,

καὶ τὴν ᾠδὴν τοῦ ἀρνίου, λέγοντες, Μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστὰ τὰ ἔργα σου, κύριε ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ· δίκαιαι καὶ ἀληθιναὶ αἱ ὁδοί σου, ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν ἐθνῶν. [4]τίς οὐ μὴ φοβηθῇ, κύριε, καὶ δοξάσει τὸ ὄνομά σου; ὅτι μόνος ὅσιος· ὅτι πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἥξουσιν, καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν ἐνώπιόν σου· ὅτι τὰ δικαιώματά σου ἐφανερώθησαν.

[5]Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον, καὶ ἠνοίγη ὁ ναὸς τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ μαρτυρίου ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ· [6]καὶ ἐξῆλθον οἱ ἑπτὰ ἄγγελοι οἱ ἔχοντες τὰς ἑπτὰ πληγὰς ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ, ἐνδεδυμένοι λίνον καθαρὸν λαμπρόν, καὶ περιεζωσμένοι περὶ τὰ στήθη ζώνας χρυσᾶς. [7]καὶ ἓν ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ζῴων ἔδωκεν τοῖς ἑπτὰ ἀγγέλοις ἑπτὰ φιάλας χρυσᾶς, γεμούσας τοῦ θυμοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. [8]καὶ ἐγεμίσθη ὁ ναὸς καπνοῦ ἐκ τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ἐκ τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ· καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὸν ναόν, ἄχρι τελεσθῶσιν αἱ ἑπτὰ πληγαὶ τῶν ἑπτὰ ἀγγέλων.

16 [1]Καὶ ἤκουσα φωνῆς μεγάλης ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ, λεγούσης τοῖς ἑπτὰ ἀγγέλοις, Ὑπάγετε καὶ ἐκχέατε τὰς ἑπτὰ φιάλας τοῦ θυμοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς τὴν γῆν. [2]Καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ὁ πρῶτος, καὶ ἐξέχεεν τὴν φιάλην αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν γῆν· καὶ ἐγένετο ἕλκος κακὸν καὶ πονηρὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς ἔχοντας τὸ χάραγμα τοῦ θηρίου, καὶ τοὺς προσκυνοῦντας τῇ εἰκόνι αὐτοῦ. [3]Καὶ ὁ δεύτερος ἐξέχεεν τὴν φιάλην αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν· καὶ ἐγένετο αἷμα ὡς νεκροῦ, καὶ πᾶσα ψυχὴ ζωῆς ἀπέθανεν, τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ. [4]Καὶ ὁ τρίτος ἐξέχεεν τὴν φιάλην αὐτοῦ εἰς τοὺς ποταμοὺς καὶ τὰς πηγὰς τῶν ὑδάτων· καὶ ἐγένετο αἷμα. [5]καὶ ἤκουσα τοῦ ἀγγέλου τῶν ὑδάτων, λέγοντος, Δίκαιος εἶ, ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν, ὁ ὅσιος, ὅτι ταῦτα ἔκρινας· [6]ὅτι αἷμα ἁγίων καὶ προφητῶν ἐξέχεαν, καὶ

αἷμα αὐτοῖς ἔδωκας πεῖν· ἄξιοί εἰσιν. [7]καὶ ἤκουσα
τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου λέγοντος, Ναί, κύριε ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντο-
κράτωρ, ἀληθιναὶ καὶ δίκαιαι αἱ κρίσεις σου. [8]Καὶ ὁ
τέταρτος ἐξέχεεν τὴν φιάλην αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν ἥλιον· καὶ
ἐδόθη αὐτῷ καυματίσαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν πυρί· [9]καὶ
ἐκαυματίσθησαν οἱ ἄνθρωποι καῦμα μέγα, καὶ ἐβλασφή-
μησαν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἔχοντος τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ
τὰς πληγὰς ταύτας, καὶ οὐ μετενόησαν δοῦναι αὐτῷ δόξαν.

[10]Καὶ ὁ πέμπτος ἐξέχεεν τὴν φιάλην αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν
θρόνον τοῦ θηρίου· καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ ἐσκο-
τωμένη, καὶ ἐμασῶντο τὰς γλώσσας αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ πόνου,
[11]καὶ ἐβλασφήμησαν τὸν θεὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐκ τῶν πόνων
αὐτῶν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἑλκῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ οὐ μετενόησαν ἐκ
τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν. [12]Καὶ ὁ ἕκτος ἐξέχεεν τὴν φιάλην
αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν μέγαν [τὸν] Εὐφράτην· καὶ
ἐξηράνθη τὸ ὕδωρ αὐτοῦ, ἵνα ἑτοιμασθῇ ἡ ὁδὸς τῶν
βασιλέων τῶν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς ἡλίου. [13]καὶ εἶδον ἐκ τοῦ
στόματος τοῦ δράκοντος, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ θηρίου,
καὶ ἐκ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ ψευδοπροφήτου, πνεύματα τρία
ἀκάθαρτα ὡς βάτραχοι· [14]εἰσὶν γὰρ πνεύματα δαιμονίων
ποιοῦντα σημεῖα, ἃ ἐκπορεύεται ἐπὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς τῆς
οἰκουμένης ὅλης, συναγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον τῆς
ἡμέρας τῆς μεγάλης τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ παντοκράτορος. [15]Ἰδοὺ
ἔρχομαι ὡς κλέπτης. μακάριος ὁ γρηγορῶν, καὶ τηρῶν
τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ, ἵνα μὴ γυμνὸς περιπατῇ, καὶ βλέπωσιν
τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην αὐτοῦ. [16]Καὶ συνήγαγεν αὐτοὺς εἰς
τὸν τόπον τὸν καλούμενον Ἑβραϊστὶ Ἁρμαγεδών. [17]Καὶ
ὁ ἕβδομος ἐξέχεεν τὴν φιάλην αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν ἀέρα· καὶ
ἐξῆλθεν φωνὴ μεγάλη ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ, ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου,
λέγουσα, Γέγονεν. [18]καὶ ἐγένοντο ἀστραπαὶ καὶ φωναὶ
καὶ βρονταί, καὶ σεισμὸς ἐγένετο μέγας, οἷος οὐκ ἐγένετο

ἀφ' οὗ ἄνθρωπος ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, τηλικοῦτος σεισμὸς οὕτω μέγας. [19] καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ πόλις ἡ μεγάλη εἰς τρία μέρη, καὶ αἱ πόλεις τῶν ἐθνῶν ἔπεσαν. καὶ Βαβυλὼν ἡ μεγάλη ἐμνήσθη ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ, δοῦναι αὐτῇ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ θυμοῦ τῆς ὀργῆς αὐτοῦ. [20] καὶ πᾶσα νῆσος ἔφυγεν, καὶ ὄρη οὐχ εὑρέθησαν. [21] καὶ χάλαζα μεγάλη ὡς ταλαντιαία καταβαίνει ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. καὶ ἐβλασφήμησαν οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὸν θεόν, ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς τῆς χαλάζης· ὅτι μεγάλη ἐστὶν ἡ πληγὴ αὐτῆς σφόδρα.

17 [1] Καὶ ἦλθεν εἷς ἐκ τῶν ἑπτὰ ἀγγέλων τῶν ἐχόντων τὰς ἑπτὰ φιάλας, καὶ ἐλάλησεν μετ' ἐμοῦ, λέγων, Δεῦρο, δείξω σοι τὸ κρίμα τῆς πόρνης τῆς μεγάλης, τῆς καθημένης ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων τῶν πολλῶν· [2] μεθ' ἧς ἐπόρνευσαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἐμεθύσθησαν οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὴν γῆν ἐκ τοῦ οἴνου τῆς πορνείας αὐτῆς. [3] καὶ ἀπήνεγκέν με εἰς ἔρημον ἐν πνεύματι· καὶ εἶδον γυναῖκα καθημένην ἐπὶ θηρίον κόκκινον, γέμοντα ὀνόματα βλασφημίας, ἔχον κεφαλὰς ἑπτὰ καὶ κέρατα δέκα. [4] καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἦν περιβεβλημένη πορφυροῦν καὶ κόκκινον, καὶ κεχρυσωμένη χρυσῷ καὶ λίθῳ τιμίῳ καὶ μαργαρίταις, ἔχουσα ποτήριον χρυσοῦν ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτῆς, γέμον βδελυγμάτων καὶ τὰ ἀκάθαρτα τῆς πορνείας αὐτῆς, [5] καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ μέτωπον αὐτῆς ὄνομα γεγραμμένον, Μυστήριον, Βαβυλὼν ἡ μεγάλη, ἡ μήτηρ τῶν πορνῶν καὶ τῶν βδελυγμάτων τῆς γῆς. [6] καὶ εἶδα τὴν γυναῖκα μεθύουσαν ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος τῶν ἁγίων, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος τῶν μαρτύρων Ἰησοῦ· καὶ ἐθαύμασα, ἰδὼν αὐτήν, θαῦμα μέγα. [7] καὶ εἶπέν μοι ὁ ἄγγελος, Διατί ἐθαύμασας; ἐγώ σοι ἐρῶ τὸ μυστήριον τῆς γυναικός, καὶ τοῦ θηρίου τοῦ βαστάζοντος αὐτήν, τοῦ ἔχοντος τὰς ἑπτὰ κεφαλὰς καὶ τὰ δέκα κέρατα.

8 Τὸ θηρίον ὃ εἶδες ἦν, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν, καὶ μέλλει
ἀναβαίνειν ἐκ τῆς ἀβύσσου, καὶ εἰς ἀπώλειαν ὑπάγειν·
καὶ θαυμάσονται οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὧν οὐ
γέγραπται τὸ ὄνομα ἐπὶ τὸ βιβλίον τῆς ζωῆς ἀπὸ κατα-
βολῆς κόσμου, βλεπόντων τὸ θηρίον, ὅτι ἦν, καὶ οὐκ
ἔστιν, καὶ παρέσται. 9 ὧδε ὁ νοῦς ὁ ἔχων σοφίαν. αἱ
ἑπτὰ κεφαλαὶ ἑπτὰ ὄρη εἰσίν, ὅπου ἡ γυνὴ κάθηται ἐπ'
αὐτῶν. 10 καὶ βασιλεῖς ἑπτά εἰσιν· οἱ πέντε ἔπεσαν,
ὁ εἷς ἔστιν, ὁ ἄλλος οὔπω ἦλθεν· καὶ ὅταν ἔλθῃ, ὀλίγον
αὐτὸν δεῖ μεῖναι. 11 καὶ τὸ θηρίον ὃ ἦν, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν,
καὶ αὐτὸς ὄγδοός ἐστιν, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἑπτά ἐστιν, καὶ εἰς
ἀπώλειαν ὑπάγει. 12 καὶ τὰ δέκα κέρατα ἃ εἶδες, δέκα
βασιλεῖς εἰσίν, οἵτινες βασιλείαν οὔπω ἔλαβον, ἀλλὰ
ἐξουσίαν ὡς βασιλεῖς μίαν ὥραν λαμβάνουσιν μετὰ τοῦ
θηρίου. 13 οὗτοι μίαν γνώμην ἔχουσιν, καὶ τὴν δύναμιν
καὶ ἐξουσίαν αὐτῶν τῷ θηρίῳ διδόασιν. 14 οὗτοι μετὰ
τοῦ ἀρνίου πολεμήσουσιν, καὶ τὸ ἀρνίον νικήσει αὐτούς,
ὅτι κύριος κυρίων ἐστὶν καὶ βασιλεὺς βασιλέων· καὶ οἱ
μετ' αὐτοῦ, κλητοὶ καὶ ἐκλεκτοὶ καὶ πιστοί.

15 Καὶ λέγει μοι, Τὰ ὕδατα ἃ εἶδες, οὗ ἡ πόρνη κάθη-
ται, λαοὶ καὶ ὄχλοι εἰσίν, καὶ ἔθνη καὶ γλῶσσαι. 16 καὶ
τὰ δέκα κέρατα ἃ εἶδες, καὶ τὸ θηρίον, οὗτοι μισήσουσιν
τὴν πόρνην, καὶ ἠρημωμένην ποιήσουσιν αὐτὴν καὶ
γυμνήν, καὶ τὰς σάρκας αὐτῆς φάγονται, καὶ αὐτὴν
κατακαύσουσιν ἐν πυρί· 17 ὁ γὰρ θεὸς ἔδωκεν εἰς τὰς
καρδίας αὐτῶν ποιῆσαι τὴν γνώμην αὐτοῦ, καὶ ποιῆσαι
μίαν γνώμην, καὶ δοῦναι τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῶν τῷ θηρίῳ,
ἄχρι τελεσθήσονται οἱ λόγοι τοῦ θεοῦ. 18 Καὶ ἡ γυνὴ
ἣν εἶδες, ἔστιν ἡ πόλις ἡ μεγάλη, ἡ ἔχουσα βασιλείαν
ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέων τῆς γῆς.

18 1 Μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον ἄλλον ἄγγελον καταβαίνοντα

ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἔχοντα ἐξουσίαν μεγάλην· καὶ ἡ γῆ
ἐφωτίσθη ἐκ τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ. 2καὶ ἔκραξεν ἐν ἰσχυρᾷ
φωνῇ, λέγων, Ἔπεσεν, ἔπεσεν Βαβυλὼν ἡ μεγάλη, καὶ
ἐγένετο κατοικητήριον δαιμονίων, καὶ φυλακὴ παντὸς
πνεύματος ἀκαθάρτου, καὶ φυλακὴ παντὸς ὀρνέου ἀκα-
θάρτου καὶ μεμισημένου. 3ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ θυμοῦ
τῆς πορνείας αὐτῆς πέπωκαν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, καὶ οἱ
βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς μετ' αὐτῆς ἐπόρνευσαν, καὶ οἱ ἔμποροι
τῆς γῆς ἐκ τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ στρήνους αὐτῆς ἐπλού-
τησαν.

4Καὶ ἤκουσα ἄλλην φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, λέγουσαν,
Ἐξέλθατε ἐξ αὐτῆς ὁ λαός μου, ἵνα μὴ συνκοινωνήσητε
ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις αὐτῆς, καὶ ἐκ τῶν πληγῶν αὐτῆς ἵνα
μὴ λάβητε· 5ὅτι ἐκολλήθησαν αὐτῆς αἱ ἁμαρτίαι ἄχρι
τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἐμνημόνευσεν ὁ θεὸς τὰ ἀδικήματα
αὐτῆς. 6ἀπόδοτε αὐτῇ ὡς καὶ αὐτὴ ἀπέδωκεν, καὶ δι-
πλώσατε τὰ διπλᾶ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῆς· ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ
ᾧ ἐκέρασεν, κεράσατε αὐτῇ διπλοῦν· 7ὅσα ἐδόξασεν
αὐτὴν καὶ ἐστρηνίασεν, τοσοῦτον δότε αὐτῇ βασανισμὸν
καὶ πένθος. ὅτι ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῆς λέγει ὅτι Κάθημαι
βασίλισσα, καὶ χήρα οὐκ εἰμί, καὶ πένθος οὐ μὴ ἴδω.
8διὰ τοῦτο ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ ἥξουσιν αἱ πληγαὶ αὐτῆς,
θάνατος καὶ πένθος καὶ λιμός· καὶ ἐν πυρὶ κατακαυ-
θήσεται· ὅτι ἰσχυρὸς κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ κρίνας αὐτήν.
9Καὶ κλαύσουσιν καὶ κόψονται ἐπ' αὐτὴν οἱ βασιλεῖς
τῆς γῆς, οἱ μετ' αὐτῆς πορνεύσαντες καὶ στρηνιάσαντες,
ὅταν βλέπωσιν τὸν καπνὸν τῆς πυρώσεως αὐτῆς, 10ἀπὸ
μακρόθεν ἑστηκότες διὰ τὸν φόβον τοῦ βασανισμοῦ
αὐτῆς, λέγοντες, Οὐαί, οὐαί, ἡ πόλις ἡ μεγάλη Βαβυλών,
ἡ πόλις ἡ ἰσχυρά, ὅτι μιᾷ ὥρᾳ ἦλθεν ἡ κρίσις σου.
11Καὶ οἱ ἔμποροι τῆς γῆς κλαίουσιν καὶ πενθοῦσιν ἐπ'

αὐτήν, ὅτι τὸν γόμον αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς ἀγοράζει οὐκέτι· 12 γόμον χρυσοῦ, καὶ ἀργύρου, καὶ λίθου τιμίου, καὶ μαργαριτῶν, καὶ βυσσίνου, καὶ πορφύρας, καὶ σιρικοῦ, καὶ κοκκίνου· καὶ πᾶν ξύλον θύϊνον, καὶ πᾶν σκεῦος ἐλεφάντινον, καὶ πᾶν σκεῦος ἐκ ξύλου τιμιωτάτου, καὶ χαλκοῦ, καὶ σιδήρου, καὶ μαρμάρου, 13 καὶ κιννάμωμον, καὶ ἄμωμον, καὶ θυμιάματα, καὶ μύρον, καὶ λίβανον, καὶ οἶνον, καὶ ἔλαιον, καὶ σεμίδαλιν, καὶ σῖτον, καὶ κτήνη, καὶ πρόβατα, καὶ ἵππων, καὶ ῥεδῶν, καὶ σωμάτων, καὶ ψυχὰς ἀνθρώπων. 14 καὶ ἡ ὀπώρα σου τῆς ἐπιθυμίας τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπῆλθεν ἀπὸ σοῦ, καὶ πάντα τὰ λιπαρὰ καὶ τὰ λαμπρὰ ἀπώλετο ἀπὸ σοῦ, καὶ οὐκέτι οὐ μὴ αὐτὰ εὑρήσουσιν. 15 Οἱ ἔμποροι τούτων οἱ πλουτήσαντες ἀπ' αὐτῆς, ἀπὸ μακρόθεν στήσονται διὰ τὸν φόβον τοῦ βασανισμοῦ αὐτῆς, κλαίοντες καὶ πενθοῦντες, 16 λέγοντες, Οὐαί, οὐαί, ἡ πόλις ἡ μεγάλη, ἡ περιβεβλημένη βύσσινον καὶ πορφυροῦν καὶ κόκκινον, καὶ κεχρυσωμένη ἐν χρυσῷ καὶ λίθῳ τιμίῳ καὶ μαργαρίτῃ· ὅτι μιᾷ ὥρᾳ ἠρημώθη ὁ τοσοῦτος πλοῦτος. 17 Καὶ πᾶς κυβερνήτης, καὶ πᾶς ὁ ἐπὶ τόπον πλέων, καὶ ναῦται, καὶ ὅσοι τὴν θάλασσαν ἐργάζονται, ἀπὸ μακρόθεν ἔστησαν, 18 καὶ ἔκραζον, βλέποντες τὸν καπνὸν τῆς πυρώσεως αὐτῆς, λέγοντες, Τίς ὁμοία τῇ πόλει τῇ μεγάλῃ; 19 Καὶ ἔβαλον χοῦν ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν, καὶ ἔκραζον κλαίοντες καὶ πενθοῦντες, λέγοντες, Οὐαί, οὐαί, ἡ πόλις ἡ μεγάλη, ἐν ᾗ ἐπλούτησαν πάντες οἱ ἔχοντες τὰ πλοῖα ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ ἐκ τῆς τιμιότητος αὐτῆς, ὅτι μιᾷ ὥρᾳ ἠρημώθη. 20 Εὐφραίνου ἐπ' αὐτῇ, οὐρανέ, καὶ οἱ ἅγιοι καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ προφῆται, ὅτι ἔκρινεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ κρίμα ὑμῶν ἐξ αὐτῆς.

21 Καὶ ἦρεν εἷς ἄγγελος ἰσχυρὸς λίθον ὡς μύλον

μέγαν, καὶ ἔβαλεν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, λέγων, Οὕτως ὁρμήματι βληθήσεται Βαβυλὼν ἡ μεγάλη πόλις, καὶ οὐ μὴ εὑρεθῇ ἔτι. [22]καὶ φωνὴ κιθαρῳδῶν καὶ μουσικῶν καὶ αὐλητῶν καὶ σαλπιστῶν οὐ μὴ ἀκουσθῇ ἐν σοὶ ἔτι, καὶ πᾶς τεχνίτης πάσης τέχνης οὐ μὴ εὑρεθῇ ἐν σοὶ ἔτι, καὶ φωνὴ μύλου οὐ μὴ ἀκουσθῇ ἐν σοὶ ἔτι, [23]καὶ φῶς λύχνου οὐ μὴ φάνῃ ἐν σοὶ ἔτι, καὶ φωνὴ νυμφίου καὶ νύμφης οὐ μὴ ἀκουσθῇ ἐν σοὶ ἔτι· ὅτι οἱ ἔμποροί σου ἦσαν οἱ μεγιστᾶνες τῆς γῆς, ὅτι ἐν τῇ φαρμακίᾳ σου ἐπλανήθησαν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη. [24]καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ αἷμα προφητῶν καὶ ἁγίων εὑρέθη, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐσφαγμένων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

19 [1]Μετὰ ταῦτα ἤκουσα ὡς φωνὴν μεγάλην ὄχλου πολλοῦ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, λεγόντων, Ἀλληλούϊα· ἡ σωτηρία καὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν· [2]ὅτι ἀληθιναὶ καὶ δίκαιαι αἱ κρίσεις αὐτοῦ· ὅτι ἔκρινεν τὴν πόρνην τὴν μεγάλην, ἥτις ἔφθειρεν τὴν γῆν ἐν τῇ πορνείᾳ αὐτῆς, καὶ ἐξεδίκησεν τὸ αἷμα τῶν δούλων αὐτοῦ ἐκ χειρὸς αὐτῆς. [3]Καὶ δεύτερον εἴρηκαν, Ἀλληλούϊα· καὶ ὁ καπνὸς αὐτῆς ἀναβαίνει εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. [4]Καὶ ἔπεσαν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι οἱ εἴκοσι τέσσαρες, καὶ τὰ τέσσερα ζῷα, καὶ προσεκύνησαν τῷ θεῷ τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ, λέγοντες, Ἀμήν· ἀλληλούϊα. [5]Καὶ φωνὴ ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου ἐξῆλθεν, λέγουσα, Αἰνεῖτε τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν, πάντες οἱ δοῦλοι αὐτοῦ, [καὶ] οἱ φοβούμενοι αὐτόν, οἱ μικροὶ καὶ οἱ μεγάλοι. [6]Καὶ ἤκουσα ὡς φωνὴν ὄχλου πολλοῦ, καὶ ὡς φωνὴν ὑδάτων πολλῶν, καὶ ὡς φωνὴν βροντῶν ἰσχυρῶν, λεγόντων, Ἀλληλούϊα· ὅτι ἐβασίλευσεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ παντοκράτωρ. [7]χαίρωμεν καὶ ἀγαλλιῶμεν, καὶ δῶμεν τὴν δόξαν αὐτῷ· ὅτι ἦλθεν ὁ γάμος τοῦ ἀρνίου, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἡτοίμασεν

ἑαυτήν. [8]Καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῇ ἵνα περιβάληται βύσσινον λαμπρὸν καθαρόν· τὸ γὰρ βύσσινον τὰ δικαιώματα τῶν ἁγίων ἐστίν.

[9]Καὶ λέγει μοι, Γράψον, Μακάριοι οἱ εἰς τὸ δεῖπνον τοῦ γάμου τοῦ ἀρνίου κεκλημένοι. Καὶ λέγει μοι, Οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι ἀληθινοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσίν. [10]Καὶ ἔπεσα ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ προσκυνῆσαι αὐτῷ· καὶ λέγει μοι, Ὅρα μή· σύνδουλός σου εἰμὶ καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν σου, τῶν ἐχόντων τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ· τῷ θεῷ προσκύνησον· ἡ γὰρ μαρτυρία Ἰησοῦ ἐστὶν τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς προφητείας.

[11]Καὶ εἶδον τὸν οὐρανὸν ἠνεῳγμένον, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἵππος λευκός, καὶ ὁ καθήμενος ἐπ᾽ αὐτόν, καλούμενος πιστὸς καὶ ἀληθινός, καὶ ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ κρίνει καὶ πολεμεῖ· [12]οἱ δὲ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ φλὼξ πυρός, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ διαδήματα πολλά· ἔχων ὄνομα γεγραμμένον ὃ οὐδεὶς οἶδεν εἰ μὴ αὐτός· [13]καὶ περιβεβλημένος ἱμάτιον βεβαμμένον αἵματι· καὶ κέκληται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, Ὁ Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ. [14]Καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἠκολούθει αὐτῷ ἐφ᾽ ἵπποις λευκοῖς, ἐνδεδυμένοι βύσσινον λευκὸν καὶ καθαρόν. [15]καὶ ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ ἐκπορεύεται ῥομφαία ὀξεῖα, ἵνα ἐν αὐτῇ πατάξῃ τὰ ἔθνη· καὶ αὐτὸς ποιμανεῖ αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ· καὶ αὐτὸς πατεῖ τὴν ληνὸν τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ θυμοῦ τῆς ὀργῆς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ παντοκράτορος. [16]καὶ ἔχει ἐπὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν μηρὸν αὐτοῦ ὄνομα γεγραμμένον, Βασιλεὺς βασιλέων καὶ κύριος κυρίων. [17]Καὶ εἶδον ἕνα ἄγγελον ἑστῶτα ἐν τῷ ἡλίῳ· καὶ ἔκραξεν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ, λέγων πᾶσιν τοῖς ὀρνέοις τοῖς πετομένοις ἐν μεσουρανήματι, Δεῦτε, συνάχθητε εἰς τὸ δεῖπνον τὸ μέγα τοῦ θεοῦ, [18]ἵνα φάγητε σάρκας βασιλέων, καὶ σάρκας χιλιάρχων, καὶ σάρκας

ἰσχυρῶν, καὶ σάρκας ἵππων καὶ τῶν καθημένων ἐπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ σάρκας πάντων, ἐλευθέρων τε καὶ δούλων, καὶ μικρῶν καὶ μεγάλων. [19]Καὶ εἶδον τὸ θηρίον, καὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς, καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα αὐτῶν συνηγμένα ποιῆσαι τὸν πόλεμον μετὰ τοῦ καθημένου ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου, καὶ μετὰ τοῦ στρατεύματος αὐτοῦ. [20]καὶ ἐπίασθη τὸ θηρίον, καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ ὁ ψευδοπροφήτης ὁ ποιήσας τὰ σημεῖα ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ, ἐν οἷς ἐπλάνησεν τοὺς λαβόντας τὸ χάραγμα τοῦ θηρίου, καὶ τοὺς προσκυνοῦντας τῇ εἰκόνι αὐτοῦ· ζῶντες ἐβλήθησαν οἱ δύο εἰς τὴν λίμνην τοῦ πυρὸς τῆς καιομένης ἐν θείῳ. [21]καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἀπεκτάνθησαν ἐν τῇ ῥομφαίᾳ τοῦ καθημένου ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου, τῇ ἐξελθούσῃ ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ· καὶ πάντα τὰ ὄρνεα ἐχορτάσθησαν ἐκ τῶν σαρκῶν αὐτῶν.

20 [1]Καὶ εἶδον ἄγγελον καταβαίνοντα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἔχοντα τὴν κλεῖν τῆς ἀβύσσου, καὶ ἅλυσιν μεγάλην ἐπὶ τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ. [2]καὶ ἐκράτησεν τὸν δράκοντα, ὁ ὄφις ὁ ἀρχαῖος, ὅς ἐστιν διάβολος καὶ ὁ Σατανᾶς, καὶ ἔδησεν αὐτὸν χίλια ἔτη, [3]καὶ ἔβαλεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον, καὶ ἔκλεισεν καὶ ἐσφράγισεν ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ, ἵνα μὴ πλανήσῃ ἔτι τὰ ἔθνη, ἄχρι τελεσθῇ τὰ χίλια ἔτη· μετὰ ταῦτα δεῖ αὐτὸν λυθῆναι μικρὸν χρόνον. [4]Καὶ εἶδον θρόνους, καὶ ἐκάθισαν ἐπ' αὐτούς, καὶ κρίμα ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς· καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν πεπελεκισμένων διὰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ, καὶ διὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ οἵτινες οὐ προσεκύνησαν τὸ θηρίον, οὐδὲ τὴν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἔλαβον τὸ χάραγμα ἐπὶ τὸ μέτωπον καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν χεῖρα αὐτῶν· καὶ ἔζησαν, καὶ ἐβασίλευσαν μετὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ χίλια ἔτη. [5]Οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν νεκρῶν οὐκ ἔζησαν ἄχρι τελεσθῇ τὰ χίλια ἔτη. αὕτη ἡ ἀνάστασις ἡ πρώτη. [6]μακάριος καὶ ἅγιος ὁ

ἔχων μέρος ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει τῇ πρώτῃ· ἐπὶ τούτων ὁ δεύτερος θάνατος οὐκ ἔχει ἐξουσίαν, ἀλλὰ ἔσονται ἱερεῖς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ βασιλεύσουσιν μετ' αὐτοῦ τὰ χίλια ἔτη.

7 Καὶ ὅταν τελεσθῇ τὰ χίλια ἔτη, λυθήσεται ὁ Σατανᾶς ἐκ τῆς φυλακῆς αὐτοῦ, 8 καὶ ἐξελεύσεται πλανῆσαι τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ἐν ταῖς τέσσαρσιν γωνίαις τῆς γῆς, τὸν Γὼγ καὶ [τὸν] Μαγώγ, συναγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, ὧν ὁ ἀριθμὸς αὐτῶν ὡς ἡ ἄμμος τῆς θαλάσσης, 9 καὶ ἀνέβησαν ἐπὶ τὸ πλάτος τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἐκύκλωσαν τὴν παρεμβολὴν τῶν ἁγίων, καὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἠγαπημένην· καὶ κατέβη πῦρ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ κατέφαγεν αὐτούς· 10 καὶ ὁ διάβολος ὁ πλανῶν αὐτοὺς ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν λίμνην τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ θείου, ὅπου καὶ τὸ θηρίον καὶ ὁ ψευδοπροφήτης· καὶ βασανισθήσονται ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

11 Καὶ εἶδον θρόνον μέγαν λευκόν, καὶ τὸν καθήμενον ἐπ' αὐτοῦ, οὗ ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου ἔφυγεν ἡ γῆ καὶ ὁ οὐρανός, καὶ τόπος οὐχ εὑρέθη αὐτοῖς. 12 καὶ εἶδον τοὺς νεκρούς, τοὺς μεγάλους καὶ τοὺς μικρούς, ἑστῶτας ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου, καὶ βιβλία ἠνοίχθησαν· καὶ ἄλλο βιβλίον ἠνοίχθη, ὅ ἐστιν τῆς ζωῆς· καὶ ἐκρίθησαν οἱ νεκροὶ ἐκ τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐν τοῖς βιβλίοις, κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν. 13 καὶ ἔδωκεν ἡ θάλασσα τοὺς νεκροὺς τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ ὁ θάνατος καὶ ὁ ᾅδης ἔδωκαν τοὺς νεκροὺς τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς· καὶ ἐκρίθησαν ἕκαστος κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν. 14 καὶ ὁ θάνατος καὶ ὁ ᾅδης ἐβλήθησαν εἰς τὴν λίμνην τοῦ πυρός· οὗτος ὁ θάνατος ὁ δεύτερός ἐστιν, ἡ λίμνη τοῦ πυρός. 15 καὶ εἴ τις οὐχ εὑρέθη ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ τῆς ζωῆς γεγραμμένος, ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν λίμνην τοῦ πυρός.

21 1 Καὶ εἶδον οὐρανὸν καινὸν καὶ γῆν καινήν·

ὁ γὰρ πρῶτος οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ πρώτη γῆ ἀπῆλθαν, καὶ ἡ θάλασσα οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτι. 2Καὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἁγίαν, Ἱερουσαλὴμ καινήν, εἶδον καταβαίνουσαν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἡτοιμασμένην ὡς νύμφην κεκοσμημένην τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς. 3καὶ ἤκουσα φωνῆς μεγάλης ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, λεγούσης, Ἰδοὺ ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ θεοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ σκηνώσει μετ' αὐτῶν· καὶ αὐτοὶ λαοὶ αὐτοῦ ἔσονται, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς ἔσται μετ' αὐτῶν, 4καὶ ἐξαλείψει πᾶν δάκρυον ἐκ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ ὁ θάνατος οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι· οὔτε πένθος, οὔτε κραυγή, οὔτε πόνος οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι· ὅτι τὰ πρῶτα ἀπῆλθαν. 5Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ, Ἰδού, καινὰ ποιῶ πάντα. Καὶ λέγει [μοι], Γράψον· ὅτι οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι πιστοὶ καὶ ἀληθινοί εἰσιν. 6Καὶ εἶπέν μοι, Γέγοναν. ἐγώ εἰμι τὸ ἄλφα καὶ τὸ ὦ, ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος. ἐγὼ τῷ διψῶντι δώσω ἐκ τῆς πηγῆς τοῦ ὕδατος τῆς ζωῆς δωρεάν. 7ὁ νικῶν κληρονομήσει ταῦτα, καὶ ἔσομαι αὐτῷ θεός, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσται μοι υἱός. 8τοῖς δὲ δειλοῖς καὶ ἀπίστοις καὶ ἐβδελυγμένοις καὶ φονεῦσιν καὶ πόρνοις καὶ φαρμακοῖς καὶ εἰδωλολάτραις, καὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς ψευδέσιν, τὸ μέρος αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ τῇ καιομένῃ πυρὶ καὶ θείῳ, ὅ ἐστιν ὁ θάνατος ὁ δεύτερος.

9Καὶ ἦλθεν εἷς ἐκ τῶν ἑπτὰ ἀγγέλων τῶν ἐχόντων τὰς ἑπτὰ φιάλας τῶν γεμόντων τῶν ἑπτὰ πληγῶν τῶν ἐσχάτων, καὶ ἐλάλησεν μετ' ἐμοῦ, λέγων, Δεῦρο, δείξω σοι τὴν νύμφην, τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ ἀρνίου. 10Καὶ ἀπήνεγκέν με ἐν πνεύματι ἐπὶ ὄρος μέγα καὶ ὑψηλόν, καὶ ἔδειξέν μοι τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἁγίαν Ἱερουσαλήμ, καταβαίνουσαν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, 11ἔχουσαν τὴν δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ· ὁ φωστὴρ αὐτῆς ὅμοιος λίθῳ τιμιωτάτῳ, ὡς λίθῳ ἰάσπιδι κρυσταλλίζοντι· 12ἔχουσα τεῖχος μέγα

καὶ ὑψηλόν, ἔχουσα πυλῶνας δώδεκα, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς πυλῶσιν ἀγγέλους δώδεκα, καὶ ὀνόματα ἐπιγεγραμμένα, ἅ ἐστιν τῶν δώδεκα φυλῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ. 13 ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς πυλῶνες τρεῖς· καὶ ἀπὸ βορρᾶ πυλῶνες τρεῖς· καὶ ἀπὸ νότου πυλῶνες τρεῖς· καὶ ἀπὸ δυσμῶν πυλῶνες τρεῖς. 14 καὶ τὸ τεῖχος τῆς πόλεως ἔχων θεμελίους δώδεκα, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν δώδεκα ὀνόματα τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων τοῦ ἀρνίου. 15 Καὶ ὁ λαλῶν μετ' ἐμοῦ εἶχεν μέτρον, κάλαμον χρυσοῦν, ἵνα μετρήσῃ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τοὺς πυλῶνας αὐτῆς, καὶ τὸ τεῖχος αὐτῆς. 16 καὶ ἡ πόλις τετράγωνος κεῖται, καὶ τὸ μῆκος αὐτῆς ὅσον τὸ πλάτος. καὶ ἐμέτρησεν τὴν πόλιν τῷ καλάμῳ ἐπὶ σταδίων δώδεκα χιλιάδων· τὸ μῆκος καὶ τὸ πλάτος καὶ τὸ ὕψος αὐτῆς ἴσα ἐστίν. 17 καὶ ἐμέτρησεν τὸ τεῖχος αὐτῆς ἑκατὸν τεσσεράκοντα τεσσάρων πηχῶν, μέτρον ἀνθρώπου, ὅ ἐστιν ἀγγέλου. 18 Καὶ ἡ ἐνδώμησις τοῦ τείχους αὐτῆς ἴασπις· καὶ ἡ πόλις χρυσίον καθαρόν, ὅμοιον ὑάλῳ καθαρῷ. 19 οἱ θεμέλιοι τοῦ τείχους τῆς πόλεως παντὶ λίθῳ τιμίῳ κεκοσμημένοι. ὁ θεμέλιος ὁ πρῶτος, ἴασπις· ὁ δεύτερος, σάπφειρος· ὁ τρίτος, χαλκηδών· ὁ τέταρτος, σμάραγδος· 20 ὁ πέμπτος, σαρδόνυξ· ὁ ἕκτος, σάρδιον· ὁ ἕβδομος, χρυσόλιθος· ὁ ὄγδοος, βήρυλλος· ὁ ἔνατος, τοπάζιον· ὁ δέκατος, χρυσόπρασος· ὁ ἑνδέκατος, ὑάκινθος· ὁ δωδέκατος, ἀμέθυστος. 21 καὶ οἱ δώδεκα πυλῶνες, δώδεκα μαργαῖται· ἀνὰ εἷς ἕκαστος τῶν πυλώνων ἦν ἐξ ἑνὸς μαργαρίτου· καὶ ἡ πλατεῖα τῆς πόλεως, χρυσίον καθαρόν, ὡς ὕαλος διαυγής. 22 Καὶ ναὸν οὐκ εἶδον ἐν αὐτῇ· ὁ γὰρ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ ναὸς αὐτῆς ἐστίν, καὶ τὸ ἀρνίον. 23 καὶ ἡ πόλις οὐ χρείαν ἔχει τοῦ ἡλίου, οὐδὲ τῆς σελήνης, ἵνα φαίνωσιν αὐτῇ· ἡ γὰρ δόξα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐφώτισεν

αὐτήν, καὶ ὁ λύχνος αὐτῆς τὸ ἀρνίον. [24]καὶ περιπατήσουσιν τὰ ἔθνη διὰ τοῦ φωτὸς αὐτῆς· καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς φέρουσιν τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν εἰς αὐτήν. [25]καὶ οἱ πυλῶνες αὐτῆς οὐ μὴ κλεισθῶσιν ἡμέρας· νὺξ γὰρ οὐκ ἔσται ἐκεῖ. [26]καὶ οἴσουσιν τὴν δόξαν καὶ τὴν τιμὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν εἰς αὐτήν. [27]καὶ οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃ εἰς αὐτὴν πᾶν κοινόν, καὶ ὁ ποιῶν βδέλυγμα καὶ ψεῦδος· εἰ μὴ οἱ γεγραμμένοι ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ ἀρνίου.

22 [1]Καὶ ἔδειξέν μοι ποταμὸν ὕδατος ζωῆς, λαμπρὸν ὡς κρύσταλλον ἐκπορευόμενον ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀρνίου, [2]ἐν μέσῳ τῆς πλατείας αὐτῆς. καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἐκεῖθεν, ξύλον ζωῆς, ποιοῦν καρποὺς δώδεκα, κατὰ μῆνα ἕκαστον ἀποδιδοὺς τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῦ· καὶ τὰ φύλλα τοῦ ξύλου εἰς θεραπείαν τῶν ἐθνῶν. [3]Καὶ πᾶν κατάθεμα οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι· καὶ ὁ θρόνος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀρνίου ἐν αὐτῇ ἔσται· καὶ οἱ δοῦλοι αὐτοῦ λατρεύσουσιν αὐτῷ· [4]καὶ ὄψονται τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων αὐτῶν. [5]καὶ νὺξ οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι· καὶ οὐκ ἔχουσιν χρείαν φωτὸς λύχνου καὶ φωτὸς ἡλίου, ὅτι κύριος ὁ θεὸς φωτιεῖ ἐπ' αὐτούς· καὶ βασιλεύσουσιν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

[6]Καὶ εἶπέν μοι, Οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι πιστοὶ καὶ ἀληθινοί· καὶ ὁ κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων τῶν προφητῶν ἀπέστειλεν τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ δεῖξαι τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐν τάχει. [7]Καὶ ἰδού, ἔρχομαι ταχύ. μακάριος ὁ τηρῶν τοὺς λόγους τῆς προφητείας τοῦ βιβλίου τούτου. [8]Κἀγὼ Ἰωάννης ὁ ἀκούων καὶ βλέπων ταῦτα· καὶ ὅτε ἤκουσα καὶ ἔβλεψα, ἔπεσα προσκυνῆσαι ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ποδῶν τοῦ ἀγγέλου τοῦ δεικνύοντός μοι ταῦτα. [9]καὶ λέγει μοι, Ὅρα μή· σύνδουλός σου εἰμί,

καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν σου τῶν προφητῶν, καὶ τῶν τηρούντων
τοὺς λόγους τοῦ βιβλίου τούτου· τῷ θεῷ προσκύνησον.
[10]Καὶ λέγει μοι, Μὴ σφραγίσῃς τοὺς λόγους τῆς προφη-
τείας τοῦ βιβλίου τούτου· ὁ καιρὸς γὰρ ἐγγύς ἐστιν.
[11]ὁ ἀδικῶν ἀδικησάτω ἔτι· καὶ ὁ ῥυπαρὸς ῥυπανθήτω
ἔτι· καὶ ὁ δίκαιος δικαιοσύνην ποιησάτω ἔτι· καὶ ὁ
ἅγιος ἁγιασθήτω ἔτι. [12]Ἰδοὺ ἔρχομαι ταχύ, καὶ ὁ
μισθός μου μετ' ἐμοῦ, ἀποδοῦναι ἑκάστῳ ὡς τὸ ἔργον
ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ. [13]ἐγὼ τὸ Ἄλφα καὶ τὸ Ὦ, ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ
ἔσχατος, ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος.

[14]Μακάριοι οἱ πλύνοντες τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν, ἵνα
ἔσται ἡ ἐξουσία αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς, καὶ τοῖς
πυλῶσιν εἰσέλθωσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. [15]ἔξω οἱ κύνες καὶ
οἱ φαρμακοὶ καὶ οἱ πόρνοι καὶ οἱ φονεῖς καὶ οἱ εἰδωλο-
λάτραι, καὶ πᾶς φιλῶν καὶ ποιῶν ψεῦδος.

[16]Ἐγὼ Ἰησοῦς ἔπεμψα τὸν ἄγγελόν μου μαρτυρῆσαι
ὑμῖν ταῦτα ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις· ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ ῥίζα καὶ τὸ
γένος Δαυείδ, ὁ ἀστὴρ ὁ λαμπρὸς ὁ πρωϊνός. [17]Καὶ τὸ
πνεῦμα καὶ ἡ νύμφη λέγουσιν, Ἔρχου· καὶ ὁ ἀκούων
εἰπάτω, Ἔρχου· καὶ ὁ διψῶν ἐρχέσθω· ὁ θέλων λαβέτω
ὕδωρ ζωῆς δωρεάν.

[18]Μαρτυρῶ ἐγὼ παντὶ τῷ ἀκούοντι τοὺς λόγους τῆς
προφητείας τοῦ βιβλίου τούτου· ἐάν τις ἐπιθῇ ἐπ' αὐτά,
ἐπιθήσει ὁ θεὸς ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὰς πληγὰς τὰς γεγραμμένας
ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τούτῳ· [19]καὶ ἐάν τις ἀφέλῃ ἀπὸ τῶν
λόγων τοῦ βιβλίου τῆς προφητείας ταύτης, ἀφελεῖ ὁ
θεὸς τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς, καὶ ἐκ
τῆς πόλεως τῆς ἁγίας, τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ
τούτῳ. [20]Λέγει ὁ μαρτυρῶν ταῦτα, Ναί, ἔρχομαι ταχύ.
Ἀμήν· ἔρχου, κύριε Ἰησοῦ.

[21]Ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ μετὰ πάντων.

NOTES.

CHAPTER I.

5. ἀγαπῶντι, with ℵAB$_2$C. *ἀγαπήσαντι* Text. Rec. with P 1 And. Areth. vg. (*qui dilexit*) arm.

λύσαντι, with ℵAC 1 syr. vet. lat. (cod. flor. et Primas.) arm. *λούσαντι* Text. Rec. with B$_2$P vg. cop. æth. Areth.

6. βασιλείαν ἱερεῖς, with ℵ*AC. This reading has the support of the Old Latin (*regnum nostrum sacerdotes* cod. flor.), and the Vulgate (*nostrum regnum sacerdotes* am. f u. harl.); both of which however read *ἡμῶν* (C) before *βασιλείαν*, instead of *ἡμᾶς* (ℵB$_2$P) or *ἡμῖν* (A), *βασιλείαν καὶ ἱερεῖς* ℵ^{c} Primas.; *βασιλεῖς καὶ ἱερεῖς* Text. Rec. with P 1 And.

8. τὸ ἄλφα καὶ τὸ ὦ. Text. Rec. adds to this *ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος* with ℵ* 1 vg. cop.

11. λεγούσης ὃ βλέπεις. Text. Rec. reads with 1 And^{p}. and (with small variants) P 7, as follows: *λεγούσης ἐγώ εἰμι τὸ* A *καὶ τὸ* Ω, *ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος καὶ ὃ βλέπεις.*

13. ὅμοιον υἱῷ, with CP And. Areth. A reads *ὁμοίωμα υἱῷ.* Tisch. and WH read *ὅμοιον υἱὸν* (WH marg. *υἱῷ*) with ℵB$_2$ 1.

14. λευκαὶ ὡς ἔριον λευκόν, ὡς χιών. The Old Latin (cod. flor. et Primas.), reads *velut lana ut nix.*

15. πεπυρωμένης, so Lach. and WH with AC; Vet. Lat. (cod. flor. Primas. Cyp.) *de fornace ignea.* Tisch. reads *πεπυρωμένῳ* with ℵ. Text. Rec. and WH marg. read *πεπυρωμένοι* with B$_2$P.

16. καὶ ἔχων. ℵ*. The Old Latin (cod. flor. Primas. Cyp.) read *καὶ εἶχεν*; A omits *ἔχων* and reads *ἀστέρες* below.

δίστομος ὀξεῖα. So all Greek MSS.; but the Old Latin (cod. flor. Primas. Cyp.) reads *utrimque* (or *utrumque*) *acutus*: possibly *ὀξεῖα* has been transferred here from xix. 15, where in many MSS. *δίστομος* has been carried over from this passage.

18. καὶ ὁ ζῶν. ℵ omits *καί*; Primas. omits all three words. If *ὁ ζῶν* was a marginal note, it would enter the text at first without *καί.*

19. μέλλει, with ℵ^{c} AB$_2$P; *δεῖ μέλλειν* ℵ*; *δεῖ μέλλει* C: *oportet* vet. lat. vg.

CH. I. 1—3. TITLE AND DESCRIPTION OF THE REVELATION.

1. Ἀποκάλυψις. English idiom requires the definite article here (as with *ἀπόδεξις* in Hdt. I. 1). St Jerome (*ad Gal.* I. 11, 12) overstates a little when he calls the word *ἀποκάλυψις* distinctly scriptural. Both verb and noun are used by Plato and Plutarch of simple disclosure of thought and act; *ἀναφαίνω* is the word in literary Greek for the proclamation of sacred mysteries. *ἀποκαλύπτειν* is first used in the sense of "reveal" Am. iii. 7, LXX. *οὐ μὴ ποιήσῃ κύριος ὁ θεὸς πρᾶγμα, ἐὰν μὴ ἀποκαλύψῃ παιδείαν πρὸς τοὺς δούλους αὐτοῦ τοὺς προφήτας.*

Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, i.e. which He makes; as is explained by the words which follow: "which God gave to Him...and He sent and signified it," &c. It is, however, possible to understand it, as some scholars do, "the Revelation which reveals Jesus Christ."

ἣν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεός. As the Son is of the Father in His essential being, so in His Manhood, both on earth and in glory, He receives from the Father all He has or knows. Compare in the Gospel vii. 16, especially xvii. 7, 8, also xiv. 10 (which is probably to be understood of the Godhead, while almost all that the Seer says refers to the glorified Manhood).

τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ. In xxii. 6 we have the same phrase of the servants of God: otherwise here it would be more natural to understand the servants of Christ: see on *ἐσήμανεν ἀποστείλας.* It is a peculiarity of this book and the early part of the Acts to use this word of believers in general: in the Epistles the Apostles use it of themselves: it is a misleading refinement to introduce the English distinction of slave and servant: in the East (Luke xv. 17) servants bought with a price stood above, not below hirelings.

ἃ δεῖ. R.V. translates "*Even* the things which must...," in apposition to *ἀποκάλυψις* or *ἣν*. R.V. marg. and A.V. rightly take the words as dependent on *δεῖξαι*. *δεῖ* "must" as part of a divine purpose, cf. Matt. xvii. 10, xxvi. 54; Luke xxiv. 26, &c.

ἐν τάχει. So ver. 3 fin., xxii. 6, 7. Compare on the one hand Matt. xxiv. 29, 34, and on the other Hab. ii. 3; Luke xviii. 8; 2 Pet. iii. 8, 9. These last passages suggest that the object of these words is to assure us of God's practical readiness to fulfil His promises, rather than to define any limit of time for their actual fulfilment.

ἐσήμανεν ἀποστείλας may be understood of God, as in xxii. 6; or of Christ, as in xxii. 16: the latter reference is here more probable. Unless it be certain that the Apocalypse is a homogeneous record of a single vision, there is a possibility that the combination of different beginnings adds to the difficulties of interpretation. Apart from this the sense will be, "He, having received the Revelation from the Father, sent by His angel, and indicated it to His servant John." The angel is the same who is mentioned in xvii. 1, &c., xix. 9, xxi. 9, xxii. 6, 8, 16.

2. ὃς ἐμαρτύρησεν, i.e. who bears witness in the present work. The past tense is used, as constantly in Greek—e.g. in St John's own Epistle, I. ii. 14—of the act of a writer which *will* be past when his work comes to be read. The "witness" John is said to bear is that contained in this book—not, as some have imagined, in his Gospel.

There is, however, some evidence to the identity of authorship of the two, in the resemblance between the attestations to the authority of this book in these three verses, and to that of the Gospel in xxi. 24. The two may be conceivably presumed to proceed from the same persons, probably the elders of the Church of Ephesus.

τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ. His Word made known to man, especially as revealed to St John himself; not the *personal* Word of God of St John's Gospel i. 1 and Rev. xix. 13, as He is immediately mentioned under another name.

τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. See xxii. 16 for a similar description of the *special* Revelation of this book. Both "the Word" and "the testimony" are repeated in *v.* 9, and here they refer to the *general* Revelation of Christian truth for which the Seer was in exile.

ὅσα εἶδεν. These words exclude two possible senses of *ἐμαρτύρησεν*, that the writer bare witness by writing a gospel, or by suffering for the truth: possibly also they imply a limitation of what goes before, as if all "the Word" and "the testimony" were too great to be told, and the Seer had done what was possible in recording all *he* saw.

3. ὁ ἀναγινώσκων καὶ οἱ ἀκούοντες. Plainly the author of the book, or of this endorsement of it, contemplates its being read publicly in the Church. *ἀναγινώσκων* is the proper word for reading aloud. The apostolic Epistles were thus read, first by the Churches to which they were addressed, then by others in the neighbourhood (Col. iv. 16): even the sub-apostolic Epistles of Clement and Polycarp, and the decidedly post-apostolic one of Soter, Bishop of Rome, were in like manner read in the churches that originally received them, or to which their authors belonged. In the course of the second century, both the Gospels and the apostolic Epistles came to be read in churches generally, as the Law and the Prophets had been read in the synagogues. In the time of Justin Martyr (*Apol.* I. 67)—not to insist on 1 Tim. v. 18, 2 Pet. iii. 16—it is plain that the New Testament Scriptures were thus recognised as sharing the authority and sanctity of the Old.

καὶ τηροῦντες, i.e. if they attend to, mind what is written in the word of this prophecy; if they observe the precepts and warnings and meditate on the revelations therein. He who reads and they who hear are only blessed if they do this; John xiii. 17; Matt. vii. 24 sq. *τηρεῖν* is constantly used of 'keeping' the Law, the Commandments, &c., throughout the N.T.: but is commoner in *all* St John's writings than in any other.

4. Ἰωάννης. The Apostle, the son of Zebedee, who (probably afterwards) wrote the Gospel: see Introduction, pp. xl, xlix.

ταῖς ἑπτὰ ἐκκλησίαις. The number of course is symbolical or representative: there were other churches in Asia, e.g. at Colossæ and Hierapolis (Col. iv. 13). But the Seven Churches represent "the Holy Church throughout all the world." It was very early observed, that St Paul also wrote to seven churches—the Thessalonians, Corinthians, Galatians, Romans, Philippians, Ephesians (?), and Colossians.

ταῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ. The proconsular province of that name. In Acts xvi. 6 "Asia" seems to be used in a still narrower sense, being distinguished from the adjoining districts of Phrygia and Mysia, as well as from the provinces of Galatia and Bithynia; so that it would correspond approximately with the ancient kingdom of Lydia. But as Pergamum was in Mysia, and Laodicea in Phrygia, it seems that here the word is used to include the whole province.

χάρις...καὶ εἰρήνη. So St Paul in all *his* Epistles to the Seven Churches, Rom. i. 7; 1 Cor. i. 3; 2 Cor. i. 2; Gal. i. 3; Eph. i. 2; Phil. i. 2; Col. i. 2; 1 Thess. i. 1; 2 Thess. i. 2; and so Philem. 3; Tit. i. 4. In other private letters the form varies—*χάρις, ἔλεος εἰρήνη*, 1 Tim. i. 2; 2 Tim. i. 2—as in St John's second Epistle. St James (i. 1) uses the common secular salutation *χαίρειν* (cf. Acts xv. 23): St Peter has "grace and peace" as here, but in his first Epistle does not say *from* Whom they are to come.

ἀπὸ ὁ. The sacred Name is in the nominative, being treated as indeclinable: as though we should say in English "from He Who is," &c. For general remarks on the grammatical (or ungrammatical) peculiarities of this book, see Introduction, p. xxxix. Here at least it is plain, that the anomaly is not due to ignorance, but to the writer's mode of thought being so vigorous that it must express itself in its own way, at whatever violence to the laws of language.

ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος. A paraphrase of the "Ineffable name" revealed to Moses (Ex. iii. 14 sq.), which we, after Jewish usage, write "Jehovah" and pronounce "the LORD." Or, rather perhaps, a paraphrase of the explanation of the Name given to him l. c., "I am That I am"—which is rendered by the LXX. *Ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ὤν*, by the Targum of Palestine on Exod. "I am He who is, and who will be." The same Targum on Deut. xxvii. 39 has "Behold now, I am He who Am and Was and Will Be." Probably *ὁ ἐστὼς, ὁ στὰς, ὁ στησόμενος*, the Title which according to the *Μεγάλη Ἀπόφασις* Simon blasphemously assumed to himself, was the paraphrase of the same Name current among Samaritan Hellenists.

ὁ ἦν is doubly ungrammatical. We have not only the article in the nominative after *ἀπὸ* but a finite verb doing duty for a participle, because *γενόμενος* or *γεγενημένος* would be inapplicable to the Self-Existent. Compare the opposition of the "being" of God or Christ, and the "becoming" or "being made" of creatures, in St John's Gospel, i. 6, 8, 9, viii. 58. Cf. also for another form of the same antithesis, *v.* 18.

ὁ ἐρχόμενος. Though *ἔσομαι* is freely used throughout the New Testament, *ἐσόμενος* is only found once (St Luke xxii. 49); so *ἐρχ.* is probably only used to express future time. It certainly does not refer to the Coming of Christ, Who is separately named afterwards. Else "He that is to come" is often used as a familiar and distinctive title of Christ, see Matt. xi. 3, xxi. 9; John vi. 14, xi. 27; Heb. x. 37; John Ep. II. 7; cf. Ep. I. ii. 18, where the same word is pointedly used of *Antichrist*. With this more general sense we may compare "things to come" John xvi. 13, xviii. 4, "the wrath to come" 1 Thess. i. 10, and "the world to come" Mark x. 30. As the last was already familiar to the Jewish schools, it may be a question whether it is to be explained from the Coming of God to judge the earth, e.g. Mal. iii.; Ps. xcviii. In any case the threefold name belongs to God—if we are to distinguish—to the Father, rather than to the Trinity.

ἀπὸ τῶν ἑπτὰ πνευμάτων. Cf. iii. 1, iv. 5, v. 6. If the second of these passages stood alone, it would be possible to understand the name of Seven Chief Angels (see viii. 2), but in v. 6 this is quite impossible, even if we could suppose that here creatures could not only be coupled with the Creator as sources of blessing, but placed between God and Christ. Can we identify "the Seven Spirits," thus made in some sense coordinate with the Father and the Son, with the Holy Ghost, Who is known to us in His sevenfold operations and gifts, Who *perhaps* has some sevenfold character in Himself, as some may infer from the passages in this book and from the unquestionably relevant parallels in Zech. iii. 9, iv. 10? This too is difficult: the Seven Spirits are the Eyes not of Him that sitteth upon the Throne, but of the Lamb (cf. Is. xi. 2); they are before the Throne, in some sense therefore it would seem external to the Essence of the Most High. It has been generally held since St Augustine, that before the Incarnation the Second Person of the Trinity manifested Himself on earth in a created Angel; if so the Seven Spirits might be a heavenly manifestation of the Third.

ἃ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου αὐτοῦ. The omission of the copula in a relative clause is not in the style of this book: *τῶν ἐνώπιον*, the reading of ℵA, is more in the general style of the book, though it mars the symmetry of the passage.

5. ἀπὸ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ μάρτυς. The anacoluthon is probably an intentional parallel to that in the previous verse, though here the threefold title might have been declined if the writer had pleased. There is a tendency throughout the book, where one clause stands in apposition to another, to put the nouns in the second clause in the nominative regardless of the rules of ordinary Greek.

ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστός. See 1 Tim. vi. 13: Jesus Christ was in His Death much more than a martyr, but He was also the perfect type and example of martyrdom. Observe His own words in John xviii. 37—to which perhaps St Paul l.c. is referring. It may be doubted whether *μάρτυς* is used in the N. T. in the later sense of "martyr." The distinction between *martyrs* and *confessors* was not fixed in the days

of the Martyrs of Vienne and Lyons: whoever confessed Christ before men was still said to "bear witness" to Him.

ὁ πρωτότοκος τῶν νεκρῶν. "Firstborn" rather than "firstbegotten;" cf. *τὰς ὠδῖνας τοῦ θανάτου* Acts ii. 24, where the metaphor is hardly pressed so far as in 2 Esdr. iv. 42. The genitive is explained by St Paul, Col. i. 18 *ὁ πρωτ. ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν.* The sense is that He is "first to enter life." The thought in Rom. i. 4 is similar.

ὁ ἄρχων τῶν βασιλέων τῆς γῆς. A reminiscence (hardly to be called a quotation) of Ps. lxxxix. 27, "I will make Him My *First-born*, higher than *the kings of the earth.*"

τῷ ἀγαπῶντι. "It is His ever-abiding character, that He loveth His own," John xiii. 1.—Alford. The contrast of tense between this clause and the next is quite correct, though it struck the later copyists as harsh.

λύσαντι. The balance of evidence is in favour of this reading. The preposition *ἐν* in a Hebraistic book like this would be used of an *instrument*, where we should say "by" or "with": while to later readers the idea of "washing in" would seem more natural. So we should probably render "released us from our sins by His own Blood"—the Blood of Christ being conceived as the price of our redemption, as in 1 Pet. i. 18, 19—not, as in vii. 14, xxii. 14 (according to the preferable reading), and perhaps in St John's Ep. I. i. 7, as the cleansing fountain foretold in Zech. xiii. 1. If therefore we ask "*when* Christ thus freed us," the answer must be, at His Passion, not at our conversion or baptism.

6. καὶ ἐποίησεν. Lit., "And He made"; the construction *τῷ ἀγαπῶντι...καὶ λύσαντι* is broken off rather strangely, as it is resumed by *αὐτῷ*; otherwise a finite verb after participles is not strange in Hebrew or Hebraistic Greek.

βασιλείαν ἱερεῖς. A phrase synonymous with *βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα* of 1 Pet. ii. 9. That is an exact quotation from the LXX. version of Ex. xix. 6, and a more correct translation of the Hebrew than this which is meant to be literal. St John (or the translation he follows) has hardly realised the equivalence of the Hebrew construction, in which the word that means "kingdom" would be inflected, with the Greek construction, in which the word that means "priests" would be inflected: and so he sets down "a kingdom, priests" side by side, leaving the mere juxtaposition of the two nouns to express the relation between them, as though both were indeclinable.

τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ. "His God and Father" as in Rom. xv. 6; 2 Cor. i. 3, xi. 31; Eph. i. 3; Col. i. 3 (perhaps); 1 Pet. i. 3. There is no doctrinal reason for preferring A.V. of John xx. 17, but it has been pointed out that, if the sense were the same here as in the parallel passages of SS. Peter and Paul (which *τοῦ Θεοῦ μου inf.* iii. 12 goes far to prove), the usage of this book would require *τῷ Θεῷ αὐτοῦ καὶ Πατρὶ αὐτοῦ*; but, for whatever reason, there is more than one instance in the first three chapters of the Apocalypse of slight and fitful approximations to the rules of ordinary Greek.

7. This verse, as indeed may be said of the whole book, is founded chiefly on our Lord's own prophecy recorded in St Matt. xxiv., and secondly on the Old Testament prophecies which He there refers to and sums up.

μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν. "With the clouds of heaven." The preposition here and in Mark xiv. 62, which also recalls Dan. vii. 13, corresponds with the Version known as Theodotion's, not with that known as the LXX. which reads *ἐπί*. It is generally agreed that Theodotion was later than Aquila, who was probably a contemporary of Akiba (†135). Little is known of the history of the Version that bore his name, or of the gradual growth of that ascribed to the LXX. There is some reason to think that the 'LXX.' paraphrased an older Version of Daniel which 'Theodotion' revised: and it is certain that 'Baruch' which imitates the Book of Daniel is nearer to 'Theodotion' than the 'LXX.' See 'Theodotion,' Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*; 'Hermas and Theodotion,' Salmon's *Introduction to N.T.* 3rd ed., pp. 586—601.

καὶ οἵτινες αὐτὸν ἐξεκέντησαν. Zech. xii. 10; in his Gospel, xix. 37, St John translates that passage correctly, and here refers to the same translation, also found in Theodotion: that of the LXX. is wrong and almost meaningless. But while the *words* here are taken from Zechariah, the *thought* is rather that of Matt. xxvi. 64: "they which pierced Him" are thought of, not as looking to Him by faith, and mourning for Him in penitence, but as seeing Him Whom they had not believed in, and mourning in despair.

ἐπ' αὐτόν. Literally, "*at* Him." "At sight of Him," "over Him," the sense in Zechariah, is hardly applicable here.

ναί, ἀμήν. "Yea, Amen": the two words, Greek and Hebrew, being similarly coupled in 2 Cor. i. 20. The second, like the first, is an emphatic word of *confirmation*—so used e.g. repeatedly by our Lord Himself, St Matt. v. 18, &c., where it is translated "verily." The popular tradition that "Amen" means "So be it" is only partially true: even in its liturgical use, we append it to creeds as well as prayers. It comes from the same Hebrew root as the words for "faith" and "truth"; the primary meaning being apparently "solidity." See on iii. 14.

8. **τὸ ἄλφα καὶ τὸ ὦ.** The first and last letters of the *Greek* alphabet used, as in Rabbinical proverbs the first and last letters of the *Hebrew* alphabet were, as symbols of "the beginning and the end." These latter words (*ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος*) are not here a part of the genuine text; they come from xxii. 13. The word "Omega" (like "Omicron," "Epsilon," "Upsilon,") is a mediaeval barbarism; but it is a convenient one, and it has secured a firm place in our language by the English rendering of this passage.

κύριος ὁ θεὸς κ.τ.λ. The group of titles represents "the Lord Jehovah the God of Hosts," a combination of Hos. xii. 5 and Am. ix. 5. The word we render "Almighty" (perhaps rather meaning "of all might") does not correspond to the word "Shaddai" which we trans-

late "Almighty" in the Old Testament. The LXX. evade this word in the Pentateuch, even in Ex. vi. 8 and parallel passages; it is never translated by παντοκράτωρ except in the Book of Job. Elsewhere in the Septuagint παντοκράτωρ always stands for "Sabaoth." So in the Athanasian Creed, "Almighty" is coupled with the Divine *names* "God" and "Lord," not with the Divine *attributes* "eternal, incomprehensible, uncreated."

9. Ἐγὼ Ἰωάννης κ.τ.λ. "I John, your brother and partaker in the tribulation, and kingdom, and patience in Jesus." The condescending choice of titles—if the writer is the son of Zebedee—is unique in the New Testament. To the opening part of the salutation there is a parallel in 1 Pet. v. 1. The collocation of the latter words is peculiar, nor is the sense of ὑπομονὴ clear; probably here and in Rom. viii. 25, as in Ps. xxxviii. 8 (LXX.), it combines the ideas of expectation and endurance. The disciples knew from the first, Acts xiv. 22, that the tribulation came before the kingdom, and a phrase which coupled the two might have become familiar before they learnt that there was to be the discipline of prolonged waiting.

ἐγενόμην. Had come there, found myself there. Here and in the next verse he avoids, perhaps intentionally, the use of the word for continuous and absolute "being": see note on *v.* 4.

Πάτμῳ. One of the Sporades, the south-eastern group of the islands of the Aegean. According to the tradition, as given by Victorinus, he was condemned to work in the *mines*—which, if trustworthy, must mean marble quarries, as there are no mines, strictly speaking, in the island. Christians were sent to the mines (Roman Christians to those of Sardinia) at least as early as the reign of Commodus (Hipp. *Ref. Haer.* IX. 12), and this was much the commonest punishment during the Diocletian persecution in which Victorinus suffered himself. In St John's time it was commoner to put Christians to death; but the tradition is probably right; 'deportation,' confinement without hard labour on a lonely island, was then and afterwards reserved for offenders of higher secular rank.

διὰ τὸν...Ἰησοῦ. Cf. vi. 9 and xx. 4. Apart from these references the words might mean (*a*) that the Seer had gone to the island to preach the Gospel, (*b*) that (by special revelation or otherwise) he had withdrawn there to await this vision. As it is, the traditional view that he was banished there for being a Christian is clearly right.

VISION OF THE SON OF MAN, *vv.* 10—20.

10. ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι. Was caught into a state of spiritual rapture. So iv. 2 and (nearly) xvii. 3, xxi. 10; cf. 1 Kings xviii. 12; Ezek. iii. 12, 14, xxxvii. 1; also 2 Cor. xii. 2, 3.

ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ. Undoubtedly here used (though for the first time) in the sense now traditional throughout Christendom. Some commentators have proposed to translate, "I was, in spirit, on the day of the Lord," i.e. was carried away in Spirit to the Great Day of the Lord's Coming. But the parallel of iv. 2 seems against this, though xvii. 3 and xxi. 10 may be pleaded in its favour.

φωνὴν μεγάλην ὡς σάλπιγγος, λεγούσης. This participle, used throughout the book in different genders and cases, with or without a show of grammatical construction (here it is only a show, for we should expect λέγουσαν), seldom seems to mean more than quotation marks in English. Is the speaker the same as in *v.* 17, iii. 22? This is implied by the gloss from xxii. 13 (see crit. note) and probable from the context: the contrast between a voice like a trumpet and a voice like many waters is not decisive; but the voice in iv. 1, which is expressly said to be the same as the voice here, seems to belong to a herald-angel rather than to the Lamb: if so here, when the Seer turns to see, the Angel has vanished in the light of the Lord.

11. εἰς Πέργαμον. Probably a neuter. The seven cities are enumerated in the order in which a traveller on circuit might visit them, going north from Ephesus to Smyrna and Pergamos, then inland to Thyatira, and southwards to Sardis, Philadelphia, and Laodicea.

12. βλέπειν τὴν φωνήν. The meaning is obvious and the inconsequence of language characteristic.

λυχνίας. These are stands for portable oil-lamps, which stood on the ground and in shape though not in size resembled our candlesticks. The Latin word was *candelabra* which served to support torches, *funiculi ardentes*, before lamps were in common use at Rome: afterwards candles nearly like ours were used by the poor and as night-lights (Mart. xi. 40), because though one gave less light than a lamp it required less attention. In the middle ages candles became commoner than lamps, for wax and tallow were to be had everywhere, whereas oil had to be fetched from the neighbourhood of the Mediterranean: so *candelabra* (and λυχνίαι) were translated candlesticks i.e. sticks or shafts that carry candles.

13. ὅμοιον υἱῷ ἀνθρώπου. It might be better with Tischendorf and Westcott and Hort to read ὅμοιον υἱὸν here and at xiv. 14; if so the writer makes juxtaposition do the work of construction, as *sup.* 16, see n. In the title of our Lord in the Gospels (except John v. 27) and in Acts vii. 56 both words have the article. The absence of the article here proves not that our Lord is not intended, but that the title is taken not from His own use of it but direct from the Greek of Daniel vii. 13, where also both words are without the article. There the human figure which succeeds the bestial shapes symbolizes the kingdom of the saints of the Most High more certainly than the personal King, the Head of the mystical Body. Here it is a question of taste rather than of grammar whether we are to translate "a son of man": the words themselves mean no more than "I saw a human figure," but their associations would make it plain to all readers of the Book of Daniel that it was a superhuman Being in human form; and to a Christian of St John's day as of our own, Who that Being was.

ποδήρη. Certainly a garment of dignity (as Ecclus. xxvii. 8; Dan. x. 5, LXX. where Theodotion gives the Hebrew in Greek reaching to the feet

letters *βαδδιν*; Ezek. ix. 2, 11), probably especially of priestly dignity, as Ex. xxv. 6, xxviii. 4, 31 (where the next verse suggests comparison with John xix. 23). The same word is used in the so-called Epistle of Barnabas (c. 7) of the scarlet robe in which the Lord will appear when coming to judgement; some suppose that the writer had in his mind this passage and perhaps xix. 13.

πρὸς τοῖς μασθοῖς. So xv. 6 of angels. In Dan. x. 5 and Ezek. ix. 2 (LXX.) angels wear the girdles of gold or gems in the ordinary human way, on their loins. The Seer like the Prophets draws his images from earthly pomp which in his days had grown more splendid. The girdle is probably crossed upon the breast, as in the figure of Darius in the great mosaic of the Museo Borbonico and in statues of the kings of Greek tragedy: anyway it visibly serves not to brace the wearer for labour but simply to keep his stately robe duly arranged.

14. ὡς ἔριον λευκόν, ὡς χιών. Cf. Dan. vii. 9 LXX. *ὡσεὶ ἔριον λευκὸν καθαρὸν* (Theodotion has *ὡσεὶ ἔριον καθαρὸν*); otherwise we might translate and punctuate "like wool, as white as snow." Though the Person seen is the Son of Man of Dan. vii. 13, the description is more nearly that of the Ancient of Days, *ibid.* 9. We need not wonder that Their union was made more plain to the later Prophet.

15. χαλκολιβάνῳ. The ancients were not clear whether this word meant brass (or, strictly speaking, bronze) as clear as a scented gum, or a scented gum that shone like brass; the former sense is decidedly most probable from the context, the various and the parallel passages. Anyway the word seems to be a compound of *χαλκὸς* and *λίβανος*, which is borrowed from a Hebrew word meaning white, which is feminine. Possibly this may account for the well-attested reading *πεπυρωμένης*. Perhaps the real meaning is "white brass," i.e. the Latin *orichalcum* (vid. Verg. *Aen.* xii. 87), which was like gold (Cic. *Off.* iii. xxiii. 92)—i.e. perhaps was our "brass" as distinct from bronze. In Ezek. i. 4, 27, viii. 2 we have a word which probably (comparing *ibid.* i. 7, xl. 3, Dan. x. 6) means the same, but which the LXX. translate *electrum*—meaning perhaps by this not *amber*, but an alloy of gold with silver or other metal. Some think that sense suitable here, as symbolising the divine and human natures of our Lord.

πεπυρωμένης. The genitive absolute is not in the general style of the writer; the construction must be "like unto fine brass as though it [the brass] had been burnt in a furnace." Anyway incense cannot be meant, which would be burnt in a censer not a furnace and consumed not refined by burning.

ἡ φωνὴ αὐτοῦ.... Cf. Ezek. xliii. 2 (Heb.; but LXX. *φωνὴ τῆς παρεμβολῆς ὡς φωνὴ διπλασιαζόντων πολλῶν*).

16. ἔχων. The present participle of this verb here and in vi. 2, 5, x. 2, xix. 12, xxi. 12 is used as fully equivalent to a present indicative: and here the construction of *ἔχων* must determine that of *ἐκπορευομένη*, which by itself would not be difficult. If present participles of all verbs were used in this way, it would be probable that the writer was "following the Hebrew usage, according to which what we call

the participle is the nearest approach there is to a distinctive present tense." *Language of New Testament*, Part II., p. 83.

ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ. The general style of the writer is *ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ τῇ δεξιᾷ* as B_2 reads here; in ordinary Greek the form in the text is if anything commoner.

ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ. The image is perhaps suggested by Is. xlix. 2; but the application made of it in ii. 16, xix. 15, 21 is more like in sense to Is. xi. 4; 2 Thess. ii. 8. It is relevant to compare Eph. vi. 17; Heb. iv. 12; but the use of similar images by different Apostles must not be allowed to lead us into a sort of Christian mythology, as though the imagery were as absolutely and unalterably fixed as the doctrine symbolized by it. In ch. xix. we see plainly that not the sword but the Owner of it is "the Word of God": in ii. 23 we have the same sense as in Heb. l. c., but the image of the sword is *not* there used to illustrate it.

ἡ ὄψις. The same word is used in John xi. 44 in the sense of "face," and so it is best to take it here, though it might mean "appearance" generally. In Ezek. i. 27, the LXX. use the word for "colour," not for "appearance."

17. ἔπεσα...νεκρός. So Dan. viii. 17 sq., x. 8, 9, 15 (Ezek. i. 28, xliii. 3, xliv. 4 do not necessarily imply so much): cf. Ex. iii. 6, xx. 19, xxxiii. 20; Judg. vi. 22, xiii. 22; Is. vi. 5; and also Luke xxiv. 37; John xxi. 12. St John was in presence of both the sources of supernatural terror—of God's Presence made manifest, and of One come from the dead.

ἔθηκεν. So in Dan. x. 10 a hand: 16 *ὡς ὁμοίωσις υἱοῦ ἀνθρώπου* 18 *ὡς ὅρασις ἀνθρώπου* touches the prophet: in each place the touch is followed by encouraging words.

ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος. i.e. the Eternal, as Is. xli. 4, xliv. 6, xlviii. 12; the ancient (? Arianising) variant *πρωτότοκος* suggests that as the Firstborn among many brethren, the inheritor of an everlasting kingdom, the Son even in His Manhood is an Image of the Father's eternity.

18. ἐγενόμην is emphatic in intentional contrast to *ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ πρῶτος*, and still more to *ζῶν εἰμί*, setting His temporal and temporary death against His eternal life; see on *v.* 4.

τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τοῦ ᾅδου. Hades is the receptacle of the dead: usually personified in this book, as indeed is death, vi. 8, xx. 13, 14. But here they are rather conceived as places, prisons wherein the dead are confined, and from which Christ can deliver them. We read of "the gates of death" in Ps. ix. 13, Job xxxviii. 17; and "the gates of hell" in Is. xxxviii. 10, Matt. xvi. 18.

19. ἃ εἶδες. If the Revelation be a homogeneous record of a single trance, this must mean the vision just described, otherwise we might think the Seer was bidden to write all his visions. Jeremiah had prophesied more than twenty years (Jer. i. 2, xxxvi. 1) before he was

bidden to write. If so it would follow from *μετὰ ταῦτα* and *ἡ φωνὴ ἡ πρώτη* iv. 1 that the earlier visions pass again before the Seer.

ἃ εἰσίν. Whether the verse means that the Seer is to write the whole vision, whether of past, present or future events, or that he is to write the vision and its interpretation and its appointed sequel, is hard to decide because there is nothing in the general arrangement of the book to support either sense. The use of *εἰσὶν* twice in the following verse (perhaps in xvi. 14), and xvii. 9 sqq. tells in favour of the latter, so too does the change from the plural *εἰσὶν* to the singular *ἃ μέλλει γίνεσθαι*. In a careful writer this would almost certainly mark a contrast between the several meanings of what was shown in the visions and the mass of future events.

20. τὸ μυστήριον. The only possible construction of these words is as an accusative in loose apposition to *ἃ εἶδες κ.τ.λ.*; perhaps the writer left them without any construction. If he had attended to details of style he would have been more likely to begin anew with "This is the mystery..." than to continue, "Write what thou sawest ...the mystery..."

μυστήριον in the N.T. bears a meaning not very far removed from its primary meaning in classical Greek. There it is a secret rite which only the initiated share, and so a secret lore which they only know. Generally we may paraphrase it, "the hidden divine truth now made known, but made known to God's favoured ones only": see Eph. iii. 13 for the completest illustration of its meaning. Here the sense is, "I reveal to thee the hidden, sacred meaning of the stars and candlesticks."

τὰς ἑπτὰ λυχνίας: symmetry would have required these words to be in the genitive, for the mystery includes both the stars and the "candlesticks"; the accusative depends probably on *εἶδες*, even if *τὸ μυστήριον* depends on *γράψον*; the connexion being "the seven stars which thou sawest and [with them thou sawest] the seven golden candlesticks."

ἀγγέλοι. For the meaning of the word "Angels" here, see Excursus I.

αἱ λυχνίαι αἱ ἑπτά. Plainly this image is suggested by the seven-branched candlestick of Ex. xxv. 31 sqq.—still more by the earlier mystical vision of one resembling it, in Zech. iv. But here the image of seven *detached* candlesticks does not exactly correspond to the description of either, nor are we to assume that the significance of those is exactly the same as of these.

CHAPTER II.

1. τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῆς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐκκλησίας. In all editions the superscriptions of the letters to the Seven Churches vary though we should expect them to be uniform. Westcott and Hort (Vol. ii. p. 137) compare the form in the text with the official style of the chief priests of Augustus, *Ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας ναοῦ τοῦ* (or *ναῶν τῶν*) *ἐν...* : *ναοῦ*

without the article *is* like *ἐκκλησίας* without the article, but *ναοῦ*, unlike *ἐκκλησίας*, is defined by what follows. There is no evidence for a form *τῷ ἀγγέλῳ ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἐν...*, which would recall the style of pagan dignitaries so closely as to prove that the 'Angels' were Christian dignitaries, in fact bishops. As it is, the parallel is suggestive rather than conclusive.

The two forms admitted into critical texts are (*a*) *τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῷ ἐν... ἐκκλησίας*. (*b*) *τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῆς ἐν...ἐκκλησίας*. The evidence for (*a*) is, ii. 1 AC Primas. (*angelo ecclesiae Ephesi:* the commentary taken from Tyconius proves that the Greek read *ἐκκλησίᾳ* not *ἐκκλησίας*) 36 *τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῷ τῆς ἐν Ἐφ. ἐκκ.* ii. 8 A; 95 *τῷ ἀγγέλῳ ὁ ἐν.* ii. 18 A (which omits *ἐκκλησίας*), *τῷ ἀγγ. ἐν Θυ. ἐκκλησίας* Prim. (*qui est Thyatirae*) 1, 28, 31 *τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τοῖς ἐν* (? a relic of *τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς ἐν*). iii. 1 Primas. (*qui est Sardis*) Syr. omits *ἐκκλησίας*. iii. 7 Primas. (*qui est Filadelfiae*). iii. 14. 95 omits *ἐκκλησίας*. (*b*) ii. 1 $\aleph B_2P$: ii. 8 $\aleph B_2CP$: ii. 12 $\aleph AB_2CP$: ii. 18 $\aleph B_2P$: iii. 1, 7, 14 $\aleph AB_2CP$. The reading *ἐκκλησίαις* in ii. 12 (91), iii. 1 (C), iii. 7 $\aleph^*$ may be a trace of *ἐκκλησίᾳ* the only Greek text known to Tyconius, the correctors of the different archetypes having added *σ* without cancelling *ι*. If so *ἐκκλησίᾳ* and *ἐκκλησίας* are both glosses, the former being the oldest. In any case it is probable that (*a*) is in all places nearer the original than (*b*).

ἐν Ἐφέσῳ. 1, 38 cod. flor. read *Ἐφεσίων*.

3. καὶ ὑπομονὴν ἔχεις καὶ ἐβάστασας with $\aleph AB_2C$ ($\aleph^*$ adds *καὶ θλίψεις πάσας* after *ἔχεις*); P 7 read *ἐβάστασάς με* (is it possible that this is the original on which *διὰ τὸ ὄνομά μου* is a gloss? P does not omit the latter) *καὶ ὑπομονὴν ἔχεις*; 1 and 152 *ἐβάπτισας καὶ ὑπομονὴν ἔχεις*; Text. Rec. *ἐβάστασας καὶ ὑπ. ἔχεις*; 33, 34, 35 omit *καὶ ὑπομονὴν ἔχεις*; 37 and Victorinus omit *καὶ ἐβάστασας*.

καὶ οὐ κεκοπίακες. 16, 37, 38, 39 arm. read *καὶ κεκοπίακας*; 1 *καικοπιακας κεκοπίακας καὶ οὐ κέκμηκας*. The reading of Text. Rec. is a bold and beautiful conflation of this and the Vulgate.

5. μνημόνευε οὖν. Prim. omits *οὖν*; 38 reads *μνημόνευσον*; see notes on 16, iii. 3, iii. 19. It is easier to imagine reasons why some verbs should be in the present, others in the aorist, than why some should be followed by *οὖν* and not others. Accidents of transcription would account for both.

πέπτωκας. With $\aleph$ (*πεπτωκες*) AB_2C; P 1 and Text. Rec. read *ἐκπέπτωκας*.

6. ἃ κἀγὼ μισῶ. A omits *ἅ*.

8. ἐν Σμύρνῃ. 1 Text. Rec. read *Σμυρναίων*.

10. μηδὲν with Tisch. $\aleph$P and Latins. Lach. and Treg. read *μὴ* with AB_2C.

καὶ ἕξετε θλίψιν ἡμερῶν δέκα. Lachmann reads *καὶ ἔχητε* with AP Prim.; C 1 read *καὶ ἔχετε*; B_2 reads *ἡμέρας*; so it seems did Tertullian (who omits everything but *temtemini diebus decem*); so too Vg. arm. Tyc. If [*καὶ*] *ἔχητε θλίψιν* be a primitive variant on *πειρασθῆτε*, the parallel to Dan. i. 12 would be very close.

13. οἶδα ποῦ κατοικεῖς. B_2 and almost all cursives arm. syr. and Text. Rec. read *οἶδα τὰ ἔργα σου καὶ ποῦ κατοικεῖς.*

[καὶ] ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἀντίπας. With AC Vg. Cop. Bed. Harym.; $\aleph B_2P$ 1 Primas. omit *καὶ*; $\aleph^{cc}A$ read *Ἀντειπας*; $\aleph^*$ reads *ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐν ταῖς Ἀντίπας*; B_2 reads *ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αἷς Ἀντίπας*, and so Weiss; $\aleph^cP$ 1 Text. Rec. read *ἐν ταῖς ἡμ. ἐν αἷς Ἀντ.*

ὁ πιστός μου. With AC; $\aleph B_2P$ Prim. Vg. Text. Rec. omit *μου.*

14. ἔχεις. A reads *ἔχει.*

βαλεῖν. A reads *βασιλεῖ.*

15. ὁμοίως. P adds, 1 and Text. Rec. substitute, *ὃ μισῶ.*

16. μετανόησον. So T. with $\aleph P$ 1, and Latt.; L. and Tr. add *οὖν* with AB_2C. See n. on *μνημ. οὖν, v.* 5.

17. τοῦ μάννα. $\aleph$ reads *ἐκ τοῦ μάννα*; Primas. *de manna*; P 1 Text. Rec. prefix *φαγεῖν ἀπὸ*; P substitutes *ξύλου* (cf. *sup.* 7) for *μάννα.*

18. ὡς φλόγα. Tisch. read *ὡς φλόξ* with $\aleph$; Primas. *ut flamma.*

20. τὴν γυναῖκα. AB_2 Primas. read *τὴν γυναῖκά σου.*

ἡ λέγουσα. With $\aleph^*AC$; $\aleph^cP$ 1 Text. Rec. read *τὴν λέγουσαν*; B_2 And. *ἣ λέγει.*

21. καὶ οὐ θέλει μετανοῆσαι ἐκ τῆς πορνείας αὐτῆς. $\aleph^*$ 1 Text. Rec. omit *καὶ...μετανοῆσαι*; 1 Text. Rec. add *καὶ οὐ μετενόησεν.*

22. εἰς κλίνην. Arm. reads *εἰς κάμινον*, A reads *εἰς φυλακὴν.* It is not easy to connect either with the text. We might account for A by supposing that a scribe was misled by a reminiscence of *v.* 10 *sup.*; if *κάμινον* were substituted for *κλίβανον* the latter might be contracted into *κλῖν*, so too *φυλακὴν* might be a gloss on some non-classical derivative of *κλείω* which would like *κλίνην* be capable of contraction into *κλῖν.*

Ch. II. 1—7. The Church in Ephesus.

The Seven Epistles are marked by certain features common to them all. (1) They are all dictated by the Lord Himself. (2) The command to write to the Angel of the particular Church. (3) One or more of the great titles of our Lord taken for the most part from the Vision in ch. i. (4) An address to the Angel of the Church, always commencing with "I know," describing the circumstances of the Church, exhorting to repentance or to constancy, and ending with a prophetic announcement. (5) A promise to "him that overcometh," generally accompanied with a call to earnest attention, "he that hath ears," &c. (See Alford.)

1. τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῆς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐκκλησίας. See crit. note. Some think that this would be St Timothy, and go so far as to find in St Paul's Epistles traits of his character analogous to those here noted. But even if the "Angel" here be a bishop, it is likelier that he would be one appointed by St Timothy, if not by St John himself. 2 Tim. iv. 9, 21, compared with Tit. iii. 12, seem to prove that permanent residence in one diocese was not implied by the Apostolical

commission which St Paul, toward the end of his life, gave to his disciples.

ὁ κρατῶν τοὺς ἑπτὰ ἀστέρας. *κρατῶν* may, but need not (cf. Plut. *Moralia* 99 D *κρατῶν ἐν τῇ ἀριστερᾷ τὸν ἄρτον*), mean more than holding. Ephesus being the chief city and, to some extent, the mother Church of the district, the Lord addresses the Church there in the character of Lord of *all* the Churches: as though (to illustrate by the later organization of the Church) He addressed all the Churches of the province in the person of their Primate.

2. τοὺς λέγοντας ἑαυτοὺς ἀποστόλους καὶ οὐκ εἰσίν. The participle and the finite verb are combined in a way irregular but not difficult, which is hardly a Hebraism, but might come natural to a writer familiar with Hebraisms. Cf. for the sense 2 Cor. xi. 13 sqq. For the question who these false Apostles at Ephesus were see Excursus II.

εὗρες αὐτοὺς ψευδεῖς. Profiting by St Paul's warning Acts xx. 28—30. *ψευδεῖς* perhaps rather "false" apostles than "liars." *ψεύστης* is used twice in St John's Gospel, often in his Epistles, and once in the Apocalypse (xxi. 8) if Lachmann is right in following the reading of A: if *ψευδέσιν* be right there, it is as likely as not that for the Seer *ψευδὴς* meant a liar, as *ψεῦδος* meant a lie.

4. τὴν ἀγάπην σου τὴν πρώτην. It is to be remembered that these words have not in ecclesiastical (or indeed in any) Greek the same sentimental associations as in English; nevertheless it is not unlikely that conjugal love is meant: cf. Jer. ii. 2, LXX. *ἐμνήσθην ἐλέους νεότητός σου καὶ ἀγάπης τελειώσεώς σου.* Christ is certainly its object; it might be inferred from *τὰ πρῶτα ἔργα* that it showed itself in love to the brethren.

5. μνημόνευε οὖν...καὶ μετανόησον. Here again it is possible to suppose that the contrast of tenses has the force it would bear in ordinary Greek, that the remembrance of the fall is to continue after the instantaneous change of purpose and conduct. Neither *μετανοεῖν* nor *μετάνοια* is used in St John's Gospel or Epistles.

τὰ πρῶτα ἔργα ποίησον. Here too we may find a reason for the aorist; the Church is not merely to set about the first works, but to "perform the doing of them." He does not say, "Love with the first love," though the works were only valuable as proceeding from love: for to love, though depending on the state of the will, is not a directly voluntary act. But He says, "Do the first works," for that is in thy power. Do again what love made thee do, that thou mayest learn to love again. The paradox is as true of spiritual graces as of natural virtues (Arist. *Eth. Nic.* II. iv. 1, 2) that the good habitual character is only gained by good acts, while really good acts are only possible as the product of the good character.

ἔρχομαι. Lit. "I am coming" the verb having of its own nature the sense of future time; cf. i. 4 and note. Possibly the distinction of tenses is intentional, the present here and *vv.* 16, 22, 23, iii. 11, 12 marking the immediate, and the future the subsequent action of the Speaker.

κινήσω τὴν λυχνίαν σου. i.e. make thee cease to be a Church. It seems scarcely relevant to point to the destruction of the city by the Turks, and its present desolation, as a fulfilment of this threat. We may presume that the Church of Ephesus *did* repent, as it was famous and prosperous, and fertile in saints, for centuries. It is likely enough that the Turkish conquest was God's judgement on the sins of the Eastern Empire and its Churches: but we cannot conclude that the Church of Ephesus was in the 14th century more corrupt than e.g. that of Smyrna, because it was more entirely exterminated.

6. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο ἔχεις. This is one point in which thou art not wanting. Compare ii. 25, iii. 2, 11, where faithfulness is conceived as a treasure possessed and to be guarded.

μισεῖς τὰ ἔργα. Compatible with love to the persons: cf. St Jude 23.

τῶν Νικολαϊτῶν. See Excursus II.

7. ὁ ἔχων οὖς ἀκουσάτω. A repetition, with a merely verbal alteration, of one of our Lord's characteristic phrases in His teaching while on earth: St Matth. xi. 15, &c.

τί τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει. The Seer is in the Spirit and the Lord speaks to him, and through him to the Churches, by the Spirit; in the Gospel (xiv. 18) the coming of the Comforter is the coming of Christ.

τῷ νικῶντι δώσω αὐτῷ. The redundant pronoun after a participle is probably to be explained on the analogy of the redundant pronoun after a relative, iii. 8, &c., which, though a natural colloquialism in Greek, or non-literary English, is probably due to the influence of Hebrew, where the relative is indeclinable and the pronoun therefore not superfluous. Cf. *Language of the New Testament* i. 59, ii. 84. A promise thus expressed, and an invitation to attention like that preceding it, are found at the end of each of these Seven Epistles—the invitation standing first in the first three, and the promise in the last four. From this change in the order, it appears that attention is invited, not to the final promise only, but to the whole Epistle to each Church, as the Spirit's message.

ἐκ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς. Throughout the book the Seer speaks of the *wood* of life, though vii. 1, 3, viii. 7, ix. 4 he uses *δένδρον* of earthly trees. Cf. Gen. ii. 9, as well as Rev. xxii. 2, 14, 19. The Tree of Life appears, though not under that name, in Enoch xxiv., where we are told that there shall be no power to touch it until the period of the great judgement.

ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ. The reading of *Text. Rec.*, *ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ παραδείσου*, is no doubt from Gen. ii. 9. "Paradise," a Persian word, adopted in both Greek and Hebrew, means simply a park or pleasure-ground, and hence is used in the LXX. (*not* the Hebrew) of the garden of Eden: in 2 Cor. xii. 4, Luke xxiii. 43, we have it used of a region of the spiritual world, inhabited by the blessed dead. Whether the Paradise of God, where the Tree of Life is now, is identical either with the earthly Paradise where it grew of old, or with the New Jerusalem, where it shall grow in the new earth under the new heaven, it would be rash to speculate, though St Irenæus reports, v. 36, 1,

upon the authority of the Elders, that Paradise will be a special degree of glory between the New Jerusalem and Heaven.

τοῦ θεοῦ. So *τοῦ παραδείσου τοῦ θεοῦ* in Ezek. xxviii. 13, xxxi. 8, *ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τοῦ θεοῦ* and *τοῦ παραδείσου τῆς τρυφῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ib.* 9, *ὁ παράδεισος τοῦ θεοῦ* in Gen. xiii. 10; *ὡς παράδεισον κυρίου* Is. li. 3. Some read *τοῦ θεοῦ μου* as in iii. 12, but on the whole the omission has more authority, and the exact O.T. phrase seems likelier.

8—11. The Church in Smyrna.

8. τῷ ἀγγέλῳ. Supposed by many of the ancient commentators to have been Polycarp.

ὃς ἐγένετο νεκρός. See on i. 18.

ἔζησεν. Lit., "lived," i.e. came to life, revived. So xiii. 14, and Matt. ix. 18; John v. 25. The attributes of *death* and *life* are here especially ascribed to Christ, because the message He sends is a promise of life to them who die for His sake.

9. πτωχείαν. Means no more than poverty: *πενία*, the Greek word for ordinary poverty is unknown to the New Testament, and *πένης* only occurs once in a quotation from the LXX. (where *πτωχεία* is a synonym of *θλῖψις*). Here the poverty is perhaps the effect of the persecution, Jewish converts being, as in Heb. x. 34, deprived of their property when put out of the synagogue on their conversion: or perhaps rather the cause of the persecution being more intense here, the Christians being people of no dignity or influence, it was safe to attack them.

ἀλλὰ πλούσιος εἶ. Contrast 1 Tim. vi. 17. Compare James ii. 5.

βλασφημίαν. Probably rather in the sense of calumny, coarse slanders against them, than blasphemy against their Lord: though of course both may have been combined, as when Christians were ridiculed as worshippers of the Crucified.

ἐκ τῶν λεγόντων Ἰουδαίους εἶναι ἑαυτούς. *ἐκ* because the calumny is not only uttered by them, but originates from them, and is very likely received and repeated among the heathen. *εἶναι* belongs to the oldest text here (though not *sup. v.* 2), because *Ἰουδαίους* stands before *ἑαυτούς*, or perhaps because *λεγόντων* is in the genitive. No doubt the persons meant are real Jews by birth as well as by profession, but are denied to be worthy of the name. It is treated as still an honourable title, implying religious privileges; as by St Paul in Rom. ii. 17, 28—9, iii. 1. Contrast the way that "the Jews" are spoken of in St John's Gospel—always meaning the chief priests and scribes, the persistent enemies of the Gospel. Hence is drawn an argument, that this book could not be written after the Gospel by the same author: though if this book were written before the fall of Jerusalem, and the Gospel long after, the change in his point of view will be intelligible.

καὶ οὐκ εἰσίν. "And they are not"—the relative construction is not continued. For similarly broken constructions cf. i. 6 *καὶ ἐποίησεν*, and perhaps i. 18, *sup. v.* 3.

συναγωγὴ τοῦ Σατανᾶ. For an instance of the same severity from the same mouth, see Joh. viii. 44. While they claimed to be, as the old Jewish Church was, "the congregation of the Lord." *Synagogue* is etymologically almost equivalent to *congregation*, and is, as St Augustin observes, a less noble word than that used for the Christian Church, *Ecclesia*, a summoned assembly: for while brutes may be "gathered together," reason (and we may add, freedom) is implied in being *summoned* together. But the distinction between the two words is not always maintained: Israel is called "the Church" in Acts vii. 38, and the assembly of *Christian* Jews is called a "synagogue" in St James ii. 2, and almost in Heb. x. 25.

10. ἃ μέλλεις πάσχειν. The words probably refer primarily to a persecution immediately impending; but they are no doubt meant to apply also to the subsequent persecutions of the Church there, especially to the famous one, under the Antonines, in which Polycarp the bishop suffered martyrdom, in A.D. 155. It will depend on the date assigned to this book whether Polycarp can have been bishop at the time of this message. It is to be noted that the Jews were specially active in urging his execution, though officially it was the act of the pagan magistrates.

ἵνα πειρασθῆτε. "That ye may be tempted" (rather than "tried" as A.V., R.V.): it is probably rather the Devil's object (cf. Luke xxii. 31) in raising the persecution, than God's in permitting it which is meant.

ἡμερῶν δέκα. Possibly because Daniel and his companions are proved ten days, Dan. i. 9, 10; possibly a half-proverbial expression for a short time, as we might say "a week or two." And no doubt the notion of a short and definite time is intended: but from the important significance in this book of definite numbers, and not least of definite measures of time, it is probable that something more is intended too —whether that the persecution would last ten *years*, or what, it would be rash to say.

γίνου. Lit., "become"—not implying that he was not perfectly faithful now, but = "prove thyself," "quit thyself as."

τὸν στέφανον τῆς ζωῆς, i.e. eternal life as a crown; so St James i. 12. The phrase is like "the crown of glory" in 1 Pet. v. 4, and probably "the crown of righteousness," 2 Tim. iv. 8. As in the parallel promise, iii. 21, the throne is in the fullest sense a royal throne, the crown here is probably a *royal* crown (so Trench, *Synonyms*), not a mere *garland of victory*. Throughout this book the imagery is Jewish, not Gentile, and all who are finally redeemed are kings, v. 10. Both the thrones and the crowns of the elders, iv. 4, 10, might be ensigns of dignity less than royal, but not the crown of the Rider on the White Horse, vi. 2. Moreover the Crown of Thorns for which all the Evangelists use the same word as here was certainly a counterfeit of royalty. On the other hand in xix. 12 the King of kings and Lord of lords has on His head many *diadems*, the unmistakeable technical name for royal crowns, and there are diadems on the heads of the Dragon, xii. 3, and on the horns of the Beast, xiii. 1.

11. οὐ μὴ ἀδικηθῇ ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ δευτέρου. "Shall take no hurt from the second death." This sense of *ἀδικεῖν* as "injure" (=hurt), with at the very most an evanescent moral reference, is characteristic of this book. In Thuc. ii. 71, when the Peloponnesians were about to lay waste the land of Platæa, the Platæans at the beginning of the chapter warn them that this would be unjust, and towards the end adjured them *τὴν γῆν...μὴ ἀδικεῖν*. Xen. *De Re Eq.* vi. 3 warns those who have to do with a horse never to get straight before nor behind him, *ἢν γὰρ ἐπιχειρῇ ἀδικεῖν* "for if he should be after mischief" (a horse *ought* not to bite or kick) *κατ' ἀμφότερα ταῦτα κρείττων ὁ ἵππος ἀνθρώπου*. These apparently are the oldest passages in which any approximation to this sense of *ἀδικεῖν* can be traced. For the second death, see xx. 6, 14 &c. Here and probably in chap. xx. it seems to be spoken of as already known to the Seer and his readers, though we only know it from this book.

12—17. The Church in Pergamum.

12. ὁ ἔχων τὴν ῥομφαίαν. Mentioned because He threatens to use it, ver. 16. *broad sword*

13. θρόνος. A high seat, in post-Homeric Greek, always a seat of special dignity: the word, which was imperfectly naturalised in Latin, was fully naturalised in English as a seat royal. The Latin translations tend, though not consistently, to distinguish the "throne" of God from the "seats" of those who reign with Him. The Old or African Latin (as attested by Cyprian, Primas. and *cod. flor.* and for xx. 1...xxi. 5 in a later modified form by Augustin) invariably employs *thronus* for God's seat, with the single exception of xxii. 1. Satan's seat in this sense is also rendered *thronus* and similarly the seat of the Beast in xiii. 2, but in xvi. 10 *sedes*. On the other hand *sedilia* or *sedes* are used of the elders or the saints (iv. 7, xi. 16, xx. 4). But in an European form of text (represented by St Ambrose and *cod. gigas* (*g*) *θρόνος* seems to be translated by *sedes* even when it is God's throne. St Jerome who aimed at a classical vocabulary seems to have intended to follow this type, but he falls back on the African rendering at iii. 21 *sedere in throno*, and uses *thronus* in all similar phrases, still he uses *sedes* not infrequently of God's throne iv. 2 *bis*, 3, 4, 6 *ter*, xiv. 3, xxii. 1, 3, while he never uses *thronus* of Satan or of the Beast. A.V. reserves "throne" consistently for God's seat, extending the Latin distinction between His seat and His saints' seat to the distinction between His seat and Satan's. R.V. rightly has "throne" everywhere, Luther everywhere has "Stuhl." *Why* Satan's throne and dwelling-place is localised at Pergamum is not clear. The old explanation was, that it was a great seat of the worship of Asclepius or Aesculapius, whose traditional image held a serpent, and who in many of his shrines (though not so far as we know at Pergamum) was worshipped under the form of a serpent. Recent excavations have suggested that the throne of Satan was the great altar of Zeus Soter, which Attalus set up to commemorate his victory over the Gauls —the last great triumph of Hellenism over barbarism. The altar was certainly very like a throne: it was approached by a flight of steps

enclosed by a raised platform, supporting colonnades, forming three sides of a hollow square; the faces of the platform were carved with the Wars of the Gods and the Giants. To a pious Jew or Christian it might seem the chosen throne of the god of this world, as the worship of the serpent might naturally and excusably seem more direct and avowed devil-worship than any other idolatry. Neither in those days would reflect of himself that both the worship of Asclepius and the thank-offering of Attalus belonged to the better side of heathenism: nor if he had reflected would he have renounced his first judgement: even the better side of heathenism would have only proved to him that Satan could transform himself as an angel of light. As Antipas is the only Asiatic martyr mentioned, it is possible that Pergamum may have been a special seat of the Satanic spirit of persecution, if so this, so far as it goes, might be the safest explanation.

ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἀντίπας. If this reading be right Ἀντίπας is treated as indeclinable: it is equally likely that the final ς arises from an accidental duplication of the following ο, the rather that Ἀντίπα would be an unfamiliar genitive. A legend is given of the martyrdom under Domitian of Antipas, bishop of Pergamum: it can probably be traced up to the fifth or sixth century. But by that time the fashion had set in of the "invention" (half fraudulent, half imaginative) of relics and legends of martyrs: and it is more than doubtful whether anything authentic is known of Antipas except from this passage. Perhaps it is presumable that he was a Jew by birth; the name is a shortened form of Antipater. The latter, like Philip and other Macedonian names, had become common all over the Levant: but perhaps especially common among Jews, from its being borne by the father of Herod and (in this shortened form) by his son, the tetrarch of Galilee.

ὁ μάρτυς. Here, as often in this book, we seem to have a nominative in apposition to other cases, for Ἀντίπας does duty for a genitive. The word "witness" is perhaps used in its technical ecclesiastical sense of one who bears witness to the Faith with his life: cf. vi. 9, xii. 11 ("testimony"). So xvii. 6; Acts xxii. 20.

14. κρατοῦντας τὴν διδαχὴν Βαλαάμ. As we should say "who adhere to the practice taught by Balaam, of eating..." It is called *doctrine*, because it is a thing that was *taught*. For the fact of Israel being taught such practices, see Num. xxv. 1, 2: for Balaam's responsibility, ibid. xxxi. 16. That of Balak is not directly mentioned in the Pentateuch, but is naturally inferred, as we find Moab and Midian united throughout the story.

15. καὶ σύ. As well as Israel of old.

ὁμοίως. "In like manner" (see critical note). This makes it certain that we are not to suppose two immoral sects prevailing at Pergamum, those who held the doctrine of Balaam and those who held that of the Nicolaitans: but one sect holding the doctrine taught by Balaam of old and the Nicolaitans now. The sense is: "thou hast with thee followers of Balaam: he taught God's people to fornicate and to communicate in idol-worship, and the Nicolaitans with thee teach

the same." The passage gives no support to the theory that the Nicolaitans were so called from Balaam; the etymology of the latter name is doubtful, but according to a possible one Nicolaus ("conqueror of the people") might be an approximate Greek equivalent to it. If not called after Nicolas the deacon, they no doubt were called after another Nicolas—as we hear from a tradition or conjecture, later than the one which traces them to the deacon.

16. μετανόησον. The Angel, i.e. the whole body of the Church represented by him, is bidden to repent: because not only are the Nicolaitans guilty of the sins their doctrine involved, but the whole Church (and more especially its bishop, if we suppose him to be intended) is more or less guilty, for having extended to them the toleration which the Church of Ephesus was praised for refusing.

μετ' αὐτῶν. "Against them," not "against thee": the mass of the Church is faithful on the whole. But it is implied that if the whole Church does "repent," and do its duty, these erring members will be reclaimed: and that it will be a loss to the whole Church, if they are not reclaimed but have to be destroyed.

ἐν τῇ ῥομφαίᾳ τοῦ στόματός μου. Cf. i. 16 n.

17. τῷ νικοῦντι. This form, which Westcott and Hort refuse to accept, might arise either from *νικέω* or from an old custom of misspelling or mispronunciation which need not have extended beyond the participle.

δώσω αὐτῷ. For the superfluous pronoun see *v.* 7 n. The conqueror shall receive the bread of God (St John vi. 32 sqq.), instead of communicating at the table of devils (1 Cor. x. 21).

τοῦ μάννα τοῦ κεκρυμμένου. This genitive after *δώσω* is the only example in the New Testament of a common Greek idiom, cf. Winer Moulton, p. 247, III. § xxx. 7 *b*. The reference is to the pot of manna kept in the Tabernacle, in or before the Ark (Ex. xvi. 34; Heb. ix. 4), and therefore "hidden" in the unapproachable Sanctuary. The Jews appear to have cherished an opinion that the Ark of the Covenant, and other sacred objects which were wanting in the Second Temple, had not perished with the First, but were concealed before its destruction (see e.g. 2 Macc. i. 19 sqq., ii. 4 sqq.), and were preserved somewhere in earth or heaven, to be revealed in the days of the Messiah. But we are not to understand that this book sanctions the first part of this belief, when xxi. 22 contradicts the second: passages like xi. 19 do not imply that the earthly Temple or its contents have been removed to Heaven, but that, whether the earthly Temple stands or falls, there remains in Heaven the archetype from which it was copied, according to the revelations made to Moses and (through David) to Solomon. See Ex. xxv. 40, xxvi. 30; 1 Chron. xxviii. 12; Heb. viii. 5, ix. 23 sq.

ψῆφον λευκήν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ψῆφον ὄνομα καινὸν γεγραμμένον. Whatever be the precise meaning of this figure, the white stone and the name are closely connected. This excludes the notion that the white stone is given as a token of acquittal because judges who voted

to acquit the prisoner dropped a white stone, sometimes called the pebble of victory, into the urn; though the stone is white because that was the colour of innocence, of joy, of victory. The white stone is a gift in itself, not merely a vehicle of the new name, which it would be if the new name were the new name of Christ Himself, iii. 12 (which may be identical with His hidden Name, xix. 12), though this too is written upon those who overcome, as the Father's Name is written on the hundred and forty and four thousand. The stone and the name are the separate possession of each to whom they are given. Most likely both are a token entitling the bearer to some further benefit. It is no objection to this that we do not find the technical Greek word for such tokens, for the "token" might be described without being named. The Greeks had feasts to which every feaster brought a token as a pledge that he would pay his share of the cost. Such a token might also prove his right to join the company. If so, it may be meant that when they who are worthy are called to the Marriage Supper each is called by the new name which he only knows; as each hears and enters, the white stone with the new name is his passport at the door. This would require us to believe that the hidden manna is given to strengthen the elect on the way (1 Kings xix. 8; Joh. iv. 32). Possibly again the token gives the right to enter through the gates into the city (xxii. 14): in this case the angels at the gates may suffer none to pass who cannot name themselves by the new name and shew the white stone. It appears from Aristophanes (*Av.* 1199—1224) that foreigners (at least in time of war) had no right to be at large in a strange city without some token from its authorities. The parallel though suggestive is too remote in place and time to be convincing. The contemporary parallels of tickets for stated doles or occasional largesses are not exact. These, which might be thrown to be scrambled for, were marked with the amount of the gifts they represented, not with the owner's name. If the word used of a "stone" could mean a gem as Victorinus supposes, the key to the passage might lie in Wetstein's quotation from Joma 8 about the rain of pearls and precious stones which fell with the manna. The first readers of the Apocalypse had not to reflect with Bengel that they would know the meaning of the white stone and the new name if and when they overcame. Its symbolical language was plain at the time to those who had ears to hear. Perhaps the new and hidden name is a pledge that no enemy can have power upon him who receives it, for exorcists were supposed to have power over spirits good and evil by knowing their names, and this was only an instance of a widespread feeling which it is said led Cæsar to put a man to death for divulging the sacred secret name of Rome, which was Valentia. It is possible that some kindred mystery may attach to the names, Hom. *Il.* i. 403, xx. 74, which differ in the language of gods and men.

18—29. The Church in Thyatira.

18. **ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ.** Here only in the Apocalypse. So designated, perhaps, because it is the power which He received from the

Father which is the subject of the concluding promise, *v.* 28. Cf. Ps. ii. for ὁ υἱός μου and quotation in promise.

ὁ ἔχων=ὃς ἔχει: and so can be continued by the categorical clause καὶ οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὅμοιοι χαλκ., cf. also τῷ λούσαντι...καὶ ἐποίησεν i. 5, 6 n.

τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ. Which search reins and hearts, *v.* 23.

οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ. Of strength to break the nations to shivers like a potter's vessel, *v.* 26.

19. τὰ ἔργα σου τὰ ἔσχατα πλείονα τῶν πρώτων. In contrast to Ephesus *v.* 4. These words shew that the Church of Thyatira had already existed for some time. Yet it was made an objection to the book as early as the second century that no Church was then known to exist or to have existed at Thyatira.

20. ἔχω κατὰ σοῦ, ὅτι. "I have against thee, that," as in *v.* 4. The reading of *Text. Rec.* (ἔχω κατὰ σοῦ ὀλίγα, ὅτι) is late and borrowed from *v.* 14.

τὴν γυναῖκα Ἰεζάβελ. There is some authority for the reading τὴν γυναῖκά σου Ἰεζάβελ, and even if the possessive pronoun be not rightly inserted in the Greek text, it is a question whether the article ought not to be understood as equivalent to one; though in this book we should certainly expect the possessive pronoun to be expressed if this were the meaning. If the sense "thy wife Jezebel" be right, the allusion must be to 1 Kings xxi. 25: there is some one (or something) at Thyatira who is, to the Angel of the Church, such a temptress as Jezebel was to Ahab. No doubt, if we suppose the Angel to be the bishop, it is probable that his actual wife is intended; but even then the name Jezebel must have this meaning.

As a plain matter of verbal exegesis, "thy wife Jezebel" seems, in this context, the more natural translation. But it has its own difficulties. What analogy is there between a faithful servant of Christ, culpably tolerant of a bad wife, but not sharing her faults himself, and Ahab, who "did sell himself to work wickedness," and "did very abominably in following idols"? It may be added, that except in Jehu's taunt (2 Kings ix. 22), which need not be meant literally, there is no evidence whatever of Jezebel's unchastity: her behaviour towards her husband, as well as her influence over him, makes it probable that she was a good wife, in her own way.

On the whole, the best editors decline to adopt the reading which would make the sense "thy wife" certain: and this being so, it seems better to translate as the A.V. ("*that* woman J."). Who "Jezebel" was—whether a real woman, or a personification of a sect,—is almost equally doubtful on any view: but it seems simplest to suppose a real person.

ἡ λέγουσα ἑαυτὴν προφῆτιν. Another nominative in irregular apposition. Possibly the participle with the article is regarded as equivalent to a relative with a finite verb.

τοὺς ἐμοὺς δούλους. This is the only instance in this book of a possessive pronoun: here St Epiphanius quotes τοὺς δούλους μου. ἐμοὺς

is used much oftener in the fourth Gospel than in the other three or indeed the whole Greek Testament, though in all the genitive is commoner. In the Gospel it is not possible to trace a distinction of meaning between *ἐμὸς* and *μου*: if there be a distinction in ordinary Greek the possessive pronoun is perhaps rather more emphatic than the enclitic genitive, meaning "the servants who belong to Me"; but this can hardly be pressed here.

πορνεῦσαι. In secular Greek an equivalent of either *prostare* or *prostituere*: it is to be taken literally; not (as so often in the Old Testament) as a metaphor for idolatry, since this is mentioned coordinately.

22. **βάλλω.** Lit. "I am casting" i.e. "am about to cast." Cf. *ἀναβαίνω*, St John xx. 17, and note on *ἔρχομαι sup. v.* 5.

εἰς κλίνην. See crit. note. Perhaps a bed of sickness, as "death" in the next verse is perhaps to be taken of pestilence, cf. vi. 8.

μετ' αὐτῆς. Possibly the sense is "I will cast them together with her into . .," but the sense "the partners of her adulteries" is at least equally natural. It seems probably intended, that she and they are to be separated in punishment: Francesca's "Questi che mai da me non fia diviso" is rather a poetical sentiment than a moral one. But if Jezebel be understood to mean a sect rather than an individual woman, it will be possible to distinguish her "adulteries" as metaphorical from the literal "fornication" which she encouraged: if so, her paramours are the false teachers, her children their disciples.

23. **γνώσονται πᾶσαι αἱ ἐκκλησίαι.** Cf. All flesh shall know, Is. xix. 26; All flesh shall see, Is. xl. 5; Ezek. xx. 48. "All the Churches" though less extensive than "all flesh" (cf. John xvii. 2, and for the limitation xiv. 22) must still be taken as widely as possible, it means not merely all the seven Churches of Asia but "all the churches in the world," hardly as Alford adds "to the end of time." We know nothing (and have no reason to think St Irenæus knew more) of either the repentance or the punishment of the children of Jezebel.

ὁ ἐραυνῶν. Compare *καρδίας ἑτάζει* Κύρ. 1 Chron. xxviii. 9, *ὁ ἑτάζων καρδίας* xxix. 17, *ἑτάζων καρδίας καὶ νεφροὺς* Ps. vii. 9 (10), *πύρωσον τοὺς νεφρούς μου καὶ τὴν καρδίαν μου* xxvi. 2, *δοκιμάζων νεφροὺς καὶ καρδίας* Jer. xi. 20, *ἑτάζων καρδίας καὶ δοκιμάζων νεφροὺς* xvii. 10, *συνιῶν νεφροὺς καὶ καρδίας* xx. 12, *ὁ ἐραυνῶν τὰς καρδίας* Rom. viii. 27. The last passage suggests a common origin apart from the LXX. for a phrase which no doubt is ultimately derived from the Psalms and was almost proverbial in the Apostolic age.

24. **ὑμῖν δέ.** The form of address to the Angel of the Church is dropped, and the Church addressed directly. The sense is "to the rest of you in Thyatira," or more literally, "to you, namely to the rest."

οἵτινες οὐκ ἔγνωσαν τὰ βαθέα τοῦ Σατανᾶ, ὡς λέγουσιν. The heretics condemned in the preceding verses were doubtless a sect of those who called themselves Gnostics, probably at this time, certainly in the next generation. They contrasted their *knowledge* of "the

depths" or "deep things of God" (cf. 1 Cor. ii. 10), with the *faith* of the orthodox in the plain simple doctrines that were openly preached to the world: the Lord answers, that the depths of knowledge that they attained were depths, not of God, but of Satan. It is uncertain how far the quotation of their own language marked by *ὡς λέγουσιν* extends; it is hardly possible that they themselves actually gloried in a knowledge of the depths of Satan (yet cf. 2 Cor. ii. 11): but it is to be remembered that the Gnostic systems of the second century, and probably those of the first also, included a strange mythology of half-personified abstractions; and it may be that the Lord rather identifies one of these with Satan than substitutes the name of Satan for that of God. It appears from Irenæus that the Gnostics of his time talked of "the deep things of Depth" as well as "the deep things of God." It is curious that the phrase "the depths of knowledge" is quoted from the great Ephesian philosopher Heraclitus: possibly it was owing to his influence, that such notions found a congenial home in Asia Minor.

οὐ βάλλω. See *v.* 22 *n.*

ἄλλο βάρος. ἄλλο refers forward to *πλήν* so that the sense is "I will lay on you no other burden than to hold fast"; but, as in English, this does not exclude a reference backward to the sins taught by Jezebel. If so this passage confirms the rule of Christian Liberty laid down Acts xv. 28.

25. ὃ ἔχετε. Comparing ver. 6, we shall probably understand this "what ye have to your credit," your present faithfulness and zeal: so that the sense will rather be like Phil. iii. 16 than Jude 3. Cf. iii. 11.

26. καὶ ὁ νικῶν καὶ ὁ τηρῶν. "He that overcometh and he that keepeth" are one; in most parts of the New Testament there would only be one article. This is the only passage where the promise to him that overcometh is introduced by *καί*. Here and iii. 12 and iii. 21 the writer begins with a nominative which has no regular construction.

τὰ ἔργα μου. "Such works as I do" is the sense, rather than "such as I approve." Cf. John xiv. 12 "the works that I do shall he do also."

27. ποιμανεῖ. Lit., "shall be their shepherd," cf. Ps. ii. 9 (LXX.), *ποιμανεῖς αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ.* The word as pointed in the received Hebrew text means 'bruise' or 'break them.' Here and in xii. 5, xix. 15 St John follows the LXX., see note on i. 7.

ὡς τὰ σκεύη τὰ κεραμικὰ συντρίβεται. He is to rule the nations with a mastery as absolute as is expressed in crushing a potsherd. There is nothing in the Hebrew or in any known version to suggest the curious change of subject in "he shall rule...as the vessels are broken." It puzzled Arethas who thought that *ὡς* would have been followed by a subjunctive in ordinary Greek.

ὡς κἀγώ. "As I also." Of course the meaning is that Ps. ii. 9 is assumed to be the promise of the Father to the Son; as is plain from the eighth verse.

28. τὸν ἀστέρα τὸν πρωϊνόν. The only illustration of this image is xxii. 16, where Christ Himself is called the Morning Star: and the meaning here can hardly be "I will give myself to him." Some compare 2 Pet. i. 19, others, perhaps better, Dan. xii. 3: taking the sense to be, "I will give him the brightest star of all, that he may be clothed (cf. xii. 1) with its glory."

29. ὁ ἔχων οὖς ἀκουσάτω. For the position of these words see on *v.* 7.

CHAPTER III.

2. ἔμελλον ἀποθανεῖν. B_2 reads *ἤμελλες ἀποβάλλειν.*

εὕρηκα. B_2 reads *εὕρηκαν.*

3. μνημόνευε οὖν. ℵ æth. Primas. Areth. omit *οὖν.*

γρηγορήσῃς. ℵ cop. Primas. read *μετανοήσῃς.*

5. οὕτως. ℵ°B_2P...and Text. Rec. read *οὗτος.*

7. κλείσει. 1 Vg. Primas. cop. arm. syr. and Text. Rec. read *κλείει.*

καὶ κλείων. A omits *καί*, C 1, Text. Rec. read *καὶ κλείει*; B_2 and many cursives read *εἰ μὴ ὁ ἀνοίγων*; Areth. reads (for *ὁ ἀνοίγων—ἀνοίξει*) *οὐδεὶς κλείσει εἰ μὴ ὁ ἀνοίγων καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀνοίξει εἰ μὴ ὁ κλείων.*

ἀνοίξει. With ℵB_2; ACP 1 Text. Rec. read *ἀνοίγει.*

9. γνῶσιν. ℵ Primas. read *γνώσῃ.*

12. αὐτόν. ℵ* reads *αὐτῷ.*

ἡ καταβαίνουσα. With ℵ*ACP 1...; Text. Rec. i.e. Beza and Elzevir, reads *ἣ καταβαίνει* with B_2 And.; ℵ° reads *τῆς καταβαινούσης.*

14. ἐν Λαοδικίᾳ. 1 and Text. Rec. read *λαοδικέων.*

15. ὄφελον ψυχρὸς ἦς ἢ ζεστός. A 1 omit by homoeoteleuton.

16. οὔτε ζεστὸς οὔτε ψυχρός. With ℵB_2C 1; Text. Rec. reads *οὔτε ψυχρὸς οὔτε ζεστὸς* with AP.

ἐμέσαι ἐκ τοῦ στόματός μου. ℵ° reads *ἐμιν* (i. q. *ἐμεῖν*); ℵ* reads *παυσε* (i. q. *παυσαι*) *τοῦ στόματός σου.*

17. οὐδέν. With AC; Text. Rec. reads *οὐδενὸς* with ℵB_2P 1.

18. ἐγχρῖσαι. Text. Rec. reads *ἔγχρισον* with P 1. Latt. *ungue, inunge.*

19. ζήλευε οὖν. With AB_2C; Text. Rec. reads *ζήλωσον* with ℵP 1.

20. ἀκούσῃ τῆς φωνῆς μου καί. These words, attested by all MSS. and versions, are absent from four quotations of Origen, one of Hilary and one of Epiphanius.

ἀνοίξῃ. ℵ reads *ἀνοίξω.*

εἰσελεύσομαι. With AP; Tisch. reads *καὶ εἰσελεύσομαι* with ℵB_2.

Ch. III. 1—6. The Church in Sardis.

1. ὁ ἔχων τὰ ἑπτὰ πνεύματα τοῦ θεοῦ. See the last note but one on i. 4. Though "the Seven Spirits" were mentioned there, we have not yet heard of them as specially belonging to Christ: but this we find in v. 6.

καὶ τοὺς ἑπτὰ ἀστέρας. Cf. ii. 1. We find the "Spirits" and the "stars," i.e. Angels, mentioned coördinately—a further argument against identifying the Spirits with Angels, even angels other than these. These attributes of Christ are mentioned, because He speaks as Judge of the Churches: cf. 1 Cor. ii. 15 for the conception of *judgement* as the Spirit's work.

2. γίνου γρηγορῶν. Lit. "become watching," "awake and watch."

τὰ λοιπά. The elements of goodness, or means of goodness, which thou hast not yet lost. Cf. ii. 6, and the first note there.

ἃ ἔμελλον, i.e. which would have died but for the strengthening of them. We may perhaps say, that it seems to be taken for granted that the warning, sharp as it is, will be effectual.

εὕρηκα. One MS. has the suggestive reading *εὕρηκαν* (cf. xvi. 15 for the plural without a definite subject). ν after α is a common clerical error, but here and at xxi. 6 it is possible that the addition may best preserve the original text.

ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ μου. The Church *had* a name of being alive *before men*: its works therefore may have come up to *their* standard.

3. μνημόνευε οὖν. Cf. ii. 5: but here it is the sound doctrine of the founders of the Church that is the standard to be regained: it does not appear that the former practice of the Church itself afforded such a standard.

πῶς εἴληφας καὶ ἤκουσας. The perfect and aorist are coupled where we might have expected two perfects; but the rather cacophonous perfect of *ἀκούω* is not found in the New Testament; it is difficult to tell how the writers of the New Testament who certainly, none of them (except perhaps St Paul), ever had any lessons in Greek grammar, were to know the difference between a first aorist and a "strong" perfect, though all writers on the grammar of the New Testament assume they had this knowledge.

τήρει. The word is the same as in i. 3, where see note. Here the sense is more like 1 Cor. xi. 2; 1 Tim. vi. 20, where however the Greek verb used is different: 1 Tim. vi. 14, where it is the same as here, bridges the interval between the two.

ἥξω ὡς κλέπτης. Notice the change of verb from *ἔρχομαι* to *ἥξω*; in the other warnings the Church is awake to watch for the Coming: the sleeping Church will only wake when the Lord is come; cf. xvi. 15; Matt. xxiv. 43; Luke xii. 39; 1 Thess. v. 2, 4; 2 Pet. iii. 10. In all these places the image is used of the Last or universal Judgement; but here plainly of a particular judgement upon this one Church. The use of the same image in both the larger and narrower senses seems

to sanction the system of interpretation commonly applied to St Matt. xxiv., which some have attempted to apply to this book also.

4. ὀλίγα ὀνόματα. Some understand, from the similar use of the word "names" in Acts i. 15, that at this time it was usual for every Church to keep a register of all its members. 1 Tim. v. 9 seems certainly to imply such a register of office-bearers at least. It is possible indeed that the "names" are spoken of as entered in the heavenly Book of Life (cf. the next verse): but the use of that image would be far more forcible, if the readers of the Revelation were familiar with an approximate counterpart to that Book on earth. It is however perhaps better to understand *ὀνόματα* both here and in Acts i. 15 as simply a Hebraistic expression for "persons": cf. Num. i. 20, 28.

ἐν λευκοῖς. So vi. 11, vii. 9. It is idle to ask whether these are the *same* garments which they kept undefiled during their probation: but no doubt it is meant that their keeping these undefiled proves them "worthy" of those.

5. ὁ νικῶν οὕτως περιβαλεῖται. If *οὕτως* means "like the holy remnant in Sardis," it is natural to ask with Spitta whether the promises to him that overcometh are to be regarded as part of the messages to the Churches. Possibly though the other sense at first is more natural, the meaning may be "He...shall be clothed then as I am now." The colour of Christ's priestly robe (i. 13) was not stated (and see "Barnabas," there quoted) but we are probably to understand that it was white, cf. Dan. vii. 9.

οὐ μὴ ἐξαλείψω τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. See Ex. xxxii. 32 sq. (which it seems hard to tone down into meaning no more than 1 Kings xix. 4: compare rather Rom. ix. 3), Ps. lxix. 29 (28) (which can more easily be taken in the milder sense), and Dan. xii. 1. The image seems to be, that everyone on professing himself Christ's soldier and servant has his name entered in the Book of Life, as on an army list or census-roll of the kingdom. It remains there during the time of his probation or warfare, even if, while he has thus "a name that he liveth," he is dead in sin: but if he die the second death it will be blotted out: if he overcome, it will remain for ever. See xx. 12, 15.

ὁμολογήσω τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐνώπιον τοῦ πατρός μου καὶ ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀγγέλων αὐτοῦ. Cf. Matt. x. 32 *ὁμολογήσω κἀγὼ ἐν αὐτῷ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ πατρός μου τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς*: and Luc. xii. 8 *ὁμολογήσει ἐν αὐτῷ ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀγγέλων τοῦ θεοῦ...ἀπαρνηθήσεται ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀγγέλων τοῦ θεοῦ*. Thus our passage combines elements found in Matt. only (*ὁμολογήσω, τοῦ πατρός μου*) with elements found in Luc. only (*ἐνώπιον, τῶν ἀγγέλων*). For the negative side of the saying we may also compare Mc. viii. 38, Luc. ix. 26.

7—13. The Church in Philadelphia.

7. ὁ ἅγιος, ὁ ἀληθινός. The same epithets are combined in vi. 10, where *apparently* they belong rather to the Father than the Son. In Mark i. 24, John vi. 69 (according to the true reading) Christ is called "the Holy One of God," and God's "Holy Servant" (according to the

probable rendering) in Acts iv. 27, 30: also "the faithful and true" in this book, *inf.* ver. 14 and xix. 11. "The Holy One" is used absolutely as a name of God in Job vi. 10 (Hebrew); Is. xl. 25; Hab. iii. 3, and perhaps Hos. xi. 9, besides the phrase so frequent in Isaiah, and used by several other prophets, "the Holy One *of Israel*": and we have "the true God," as opposed to idols, in 2 Chr. xv. 3; Ps. xxxi. 5 (6); Jer. x. 10; 1 Thess. i. 9; 1 John v. 20, and, without such opposition being specially marked, in Is. lxv. 16; John xvii. 3. Here the sense seems to be "He Who *is* the Holy One of God," as opposed to those in *v.* 9, who say that they are of the holy people and are not.

ὁ ἔχων τὴν κλεῖν τοῦ Δαυείδ. From Is. xxii. 22. There the meaning is, that Eliakim shall be made ruler of the house of David, i.e. chief minister of the kingdom (2 Kings xviii. 18 &c.), and that his will shall be final in all business of the kingdom. Here then in like manner Christ is described as Chief Minister in the Kingdom of God. But the promise in the next verse suggests that the image is not used in this general sense only; Christ says that He has the power of admitting to, or excluding from His Church, the power which He delegates (St Matt. xvi. 19) to the rulers in His Church, but which none, not even they, can really exercise in opposition to His will.

8. θύραν ἠνεῳγμένην. Through which thou mayest enter into the Kingdom, into the house of David.

ἣν οὐδεὶς δύναται κλεῖσαι αὐτήν. For the construction cf. ii. 7 n. Probably the false Jews mentioned in the next verse denied the title of the Christians in Philadelphia to the privileges of brotherhood—whence we may suppose that they were mostly Gentiles. Christ answers, that He would grant what they refused.

ὅτι... ἔχεις. The parallels prove that these words, in spite of the strange parenthesis, are dependent on and explain *σου τὰ ἔργα*.

μικρὰν δύναμιν. "Little strength." The point is that his strength is not great, not that he has a little in spite of the strain upon it.

9. διδῶ. The use of "give" in this verse is frequent in Hebrew: (cp. LXX. of Is. lx. 17 *δώσω τοὺς ἄρχοντάς σου ἐν εἰρήνῃ*); here the sentence is unfinished, and is resumed by "I will make them come" &c. below.

ἐκ τῆς συναγωγῆς τοῦ Σατανᾶ. See on ii. 9.

ποιήσω αὐτούς. An application of Is. lx. 14, *πορεύσονται πρὸς σὲ δεδοικότες υἱοὶ ταπεινωσάντων σε.*

ὅτι ἐγὼ ἠγάπησά σε. Perhaps "that I set my love on thee" once for all; but it is simpler to remember how much commoner aorists are than perfects in the New Testament. The pronoun *ἐγὼ* is emphatic—which supports the view already suggested, that the title of this Church to Christian privileges was contested by the Jews, and that this message of the Lord is intended to decide a controversy.

10. ὅτι ἐτήρησας...κἀγώ. It would be possible, but hardly in accordance with the usage of this book, to connect this with what goes before, "that I have loved thee, because thou hast kept....., and I will keep thee from...."

11. κράτει ὃ ἔχεις. See on ii. 6, 25.

λάβῃ, i.e. rob thee of it: it is hardly meant that his loss will be in any sense another's gain, but that whoever can tempt him to let go what he has will deprive him of what he hopes for. On *στέφανον* see note on ii. 10: the image of a race or other contest for a prize does not seem in harmony with the context nor with the style of this book.

12. ὁ νικῶν. Lit. "He that overcometh, I will make him," as in ii. 26.

στῦλον. Used of chief men in the Church in Gal. ii. 9, and probably of the Church itself in 1 Tim. iii. 15. All Christians are living stones in the Temple (Eph. ii. 20 sqq., 1 Pet. ii. 5), all necessary to its completeness, but some of course filling in it a more important position than others: and such important position is indicated by the image of the "pillars" ll. cc. But here the promise is not for Apostles or their successors only, but for all the faithful: the point is not "he shall be one of the great and beautiful stones on which the others rest," but "he shall be so placed that he cannot be removed while the whole fabric stands."

The reading *αὐτῷ στῦλον* would have to be explained by the analogy, not very close, of 2 Sam. xviii. 18, Is. lvi. 5.

γράψω ἐπ' αὐτόν. We repeatedly have in this book the image of the divine Name written on the foreheads of God's servants: see vii. 3, xiv. 1, xxii. 4. Hence the inscribing the name is here equally appropriate to the figure and the thing signified: probably the metaphor of the pillar is not dropped, but writing the name on the pillar means the same as writing it on the man.

τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ μου καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς πόλεως τοῦ θεοῦ μου. Cf. Is. xliv. 5; Jer. xxiii. 6, xxxiii. 16; Ezek. xlviii. 35, for the junction of these two names. The *three* names joined here are in a manner those of the Trinity, the Church being representative of the Spirit. It is probable that passages like this did much to suggest the use of the sign of the Cross on the forehead, both at Baptism and on other occasions that seemed to call for a profession of faith: and the image of the "new name" (cf. ii. 17) harmonises well with the much later usage of conferring a name in Baptism.

ἡ καταβαίνουσα, xxi. 2, 10. The nominative after *τῆς καινῆς* cannot be ascribed either to ignorance or to forgetfulness; see note on *ἡ λέγουσα*, ii. 20.

τὸ ὄνομά μου τὸ καινόν. See on ii. 17 and xix. 12 there referred to.

14—22. The Church in Laodicea.

14. ὁ ἀμήν. See the last note on i. 7. Here the name is used, (i) because this is the last of the seven Epistles, that it may confirm the whole: (ii) as synonymous with the title "Faithful and True" that follows: for which see the latter group of references on ver. 7. Is. lxv. 16 is specially noticeable, where "the God of *truth*" is in the Hebrew "the God of Amen"; in the other O.T. passages a different but cognate form is used.

ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστὸς καὶ ἀληθινός. See i. 5.

ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ θεοῦ. Exactly equivalent to Col. i. 15, as explained by the words that follow: in both places the words are such as might grammatically be used of the first of creatures, but the context there, and the whole tone of the book here, proves that the writer does not regard Him as a creature at all. But St John is not here, as in the first verses of his Gospel, describing our Lord's Nature theologically: it might be enough to say that here and in Prov. viii. 22 (where the words "the Lord possessed" or "created Me" lend themselves more easily than these to an Arian sense), the coming forth of the Word to create is conceived as part of His earthly mission, which culminates in the Incarnation, so that in a sense even creation is done by Him as a creature.

15. οὔτε ψυχρὸς...οὔτε ζεστός. Neither untouched by spiritual life, dead and cold, as an unregenerate heathen would be, nor *τῷ πνεύματι ζέων* (Rom. xii. 11). We might naturally speak (perhaps the Lord does, Matt. xxiv. 12) of those as "cold" who were such as the Laodiceans were, and of course here something more is meant: but that further meaning can hardly be being actively opposed to the Gospel, but only being utterly unaffected by it.

ὄφελον ψυχρὸς ἦς ἢ ζεστός. For the sentiment that it would be better even to be "cold," cf. 2 Pet. ii. 21; though there the apostasy described is no doubt more deadly than here. But according to the Greek proverb (Ar. *Eth.* VII. ii. 10) of a man who sins against his conscience, *ὅταν τὸ ὕδωρ πνίγῃ τί δεῖ ἐπιπίνειν*; you can instruct and convince a man who has either low or perverse views of duty, but what can you do to one whom sound views do not make to act rightly? And similarly an unbeliever can be converted and regenerated, but what can be done for him in whom faith does not work by love?

16. ὅτι χλιαρὸς εἶ. The image is of course taken from the tendency of lukewarm water to excite vomiting. It is *intended* to be an offensive one, interfering with the self-satisfied refinement to which it is addressed.

μέλλω. "I am ready to." The verb does not necessarily imply that the intention is final, and ver. 19 shews that it is not. On the other hand, in later Greek the future is often expressed by a periphrasis with *μέλλω*, as in later Latin with 'habeo.'

17. ὅτι λέγεις. The construction here *ὅτι λέγεις...καὶ οὐκ οἶδας... συμβουλεύω σοι*...is unusually elaborate for this book.

πλούσιός εἰμι καὶ πεπλούτηκα. Lit. "I am rich and have gotten riches." It was thought remarkable, &c., Tac. Ann. xiv. 27, that Laodicea was rebuilt, A.D. 60, after an earthquake without help from Rome of any kind. If there be any distinction of sense between the two words, the second expresses pride in the riches being his own acquisition, in addition to self-complacency in the enjoyment.

For the sense, cf. Hos. xii. 8, *Καὶ εἶπεν Ἐφραίμ, Πλὴν πεπλούτηκα, εὕρηκα ἀναψυχὴν ἐμαυτῷ*, where apparently the self-complacency in material prosperity lends itself to and combines with religious self-satisfaction. Hence it is not necessary to interpret these words either of material wealth, or of fancied spiritual wealth, to the exclusion of the other. St James ii. 1—6 shews that in the first century, as in the nineteenth, the "respectable" classes found it easiest to be religious, to their own satisfaction.

σὺ εἶ ὁ ταλαίπωρος καὶ ἐλεεινός. "The wretched and miserable one" above all others—at least above all the other six Churches.

18. συμβουλεύω σοι. "There is deep irony in this word *One who has need of nothing*, yet needs counsel on the vital points of self-preservation." Alford.

ἀγοράσαι. Cf. Is. lv. 1 *ὅσοι μὴ ἔχετε ἀργύριον, βαδίσαντες ἀγοράσατε, καὶ φάγετε ἄνευ ἀργυρίου καὶ τιμῆς*: the counsel to a poor beggar to *buy* is of course meaningless, unless he can buy "without money and without price," or, as the Hebrew of that passage more literally means, "for (what is) not money and for (what is) not a price." Thus the word is not a mere synonym for "receive": the sense is, "Thou hast nothing to give, but thou must give all that thou hast" (Matt. xiii. 44, 46). The nothingness of human merit is a reason against exalting self, but not a reason for sparing self: the Lord does not bid us say, "We are unprofitable servants: we cannot and need not do what it is our duty to do." (Luke xvii. 10.)

χρυσίον πεπυρωμένον ἐκ πυρός. Vg. *aurum ignitum probatum.* The fire would not remove the dross from the gold, but either detect it or prove that the gold was already pure. A.V. is right in sense, though "fresh burnt from the fire" would be perhaps more literal: cf. i. 15, where the same participle is used as here. The meaning of the "gold" is defined in the next words: it stands for spiritual "riches" of any sort.

ἱμάτια λευκά. As in *vv.* 4, 5.

καὶ μὴ φανερωθῇ. Cf. xvi. 15.

καὶ κολλύριον ἐγχρῖσαι τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς σου. "And eyesalve to anoint thine eyes." *κολλύριον* (the name comes from a bread-poultice) was the common dressing for weak eyes, and could be applied by a barber (see Horace *Sat.* I. vii. 3), but perhaps hardly by the patient himself.

19. ἐγὼ ὅσους ἐὰν φιλῶ, ἐλέγχω. The pronoun ἐγώ stands emphatically at the beginning of the sentence—as it were, "My way with those I love (the word is a strong one, expressing affection, not simply charity), is to shew them their faults," not to "prophesy smooth things," and encourage the self-complacent temper that was destroying the Laodiceans. In every other case, the Lord has noted both the good and the evil in the Church, and generally the good first: here He does nothing but find fault, but He adds in effect, "Do not suppose from this that I do not love you." The word ἐλέγχω is more often rendered "reprove": see e.g. John xvi. 8: Eph. v. 11, 13: its meaning here is exactly what we express by "working conviction of sin."

ζήλευε οὖν καὶ μετανόησον. Shake off thy languid "lukewarm" temper: then thou wilt be able to start on a new life of righteousness. Here too it is possible to see a reason for the contrasted tenses.

20. ἕστηκα ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν καὶ κρούω. The Lord expresses His affection, from which He has intimated that the Laodiceans are not excluded, by this figure of intense and condescending tenderness. It is intended to remind the readers of Cant. v. 2: but the figure of the *lover's* midnight visit is too delicate to bear being represented, as here, with a mixture of the thing signified with the image, especially since the visit is not to the Church, personified as a single female, but to any individual, and of either sex; so it is toned down into a visit from a familiar friend.

ἐάν τις ἀκούσῃ τῆς φωνῆς μου. It is implied that anyone is sure to hear His knock, and be roused to ask who is there: but only those who love Him will know His voice (as Rhoda did St Peter's, Acts xii. 14) when He says "It is I."

δειπνήσω. The blessing promised is a *secret* one to the *individual*. There can thus hardly be a reference to the Holy Eucharist, which is shared publicly by the whole Church.

μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς μετ' ἐμοῦ. The sense is, "I will take all he has to give Me, as though I had need of it, and benefited by it (cf. Matt. xxv. 37—40): but at the same time, it will really be I that give the feast, and he that receives it." There can hardly be a better illustration than a quaint and touching legend, given in a little book called *Patranas, or Spanish Stories*, with the title "Where one can dine, two can dine."

21. ὁ νικῶν. The construction is as in ii. 26, iii. 12, "He that overcometh, I will give him." For the sense, compare the former of these passages; but the promise of sharing Christ's inheritance (Rom. viii. 17) is even more fully expressed here.

ὡς κἀγὼ ἐνίκησα. See St John's Gospel, xvi. 33.

μετὰ τοῦ πατρός μου ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ αὐτοῦ. See v. 6, vii. 17. In the Jewish Cabbala (of which the oldest parts are ascribed to a date little later than St John, and perhaps embody still older traditions, though it received its present form quite late in the middle ages) we hear of

Metatron, apparently a Greek word Hebraised for "Next to the Throne," or perhaps "in the midst of the Throne," a sort of mediator between God and the world, who is identified with the four Living Creatures of Ezekiel's vision. The Cabbala as it now exists has more affinity with Gnostic mythology than with scriptural or Catholic Christianity: but it is deserving of notice, as the outcome of tendencies in Jewish thought that might have developed, or found their satisfaction in the Gospel. St John's Lamb "in the midst of the Throne" is perhaps just as far comparable with the Cabbalistic Metatron, as his doctrine of the personal "Word of God" is with Philo's. It is hardly wise to ask whether "My Throne" and "His Throne" are quite identical: for the doctrine that the faithful stand to Christ in the same relation as He to the Father, see St John's Gospel, xvii. 21—23, and 1 Cor. iii. 23, xi. 3.

CHAPTER IV.

1. λαλούσης. ℵ reads λαλοῦσαν.

λέγων. With ℵ*AB_2; Text. Rec. reads λέγουσα with ℵ^{c}P 1.

2. ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον. With ℵAB_2; Text. Rec. reads *ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου* with P 1.

3. καὶ ὁ καθήμενος. 1...cop. arm. æth. And. Areth. Victorin. omit these words.

ἶρις. ℵ*A æth. arm. read *ἱερεις*; arm. also read *ὅμοιοι*; in 3, 4 ℵ* omits ὅμ. ὁράσει σμ....θρόνου.

4. εἴκοσι τέσσαρας πρεσβ. Text. Rec. reads with B_2 *τοὺς εἴκοσι τ. πρ.*

5. φωναὶ καὶ βρονταί. Text. Rec. with 1...reads *βρονταὶ καὶ φωναί*; see note on iii. 18.

ἅ εἰσιν. With ℵ^c (ℵ* omits from ἅ to *ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου*) P 1; Text. Rec. reads *αἵ εἰσιν* with B_2; A reads *ἃ ἐστιν ὡς θάλασσα*; Text. Rec. omits ὡς with 1 arm. æth. Primas.

7. ἔχων. With AB_2; Text. Rec. reads *ἔχον* with ℵP.

ὡς ἀνθρώπου. With A Primas. Vg.; ℵ reads *ὡς ὅμοιον ἀνθρώπου*; B_2 omits ὡς; Text. Rec. reads *ὡς ἄνθρωπος* with P 1.

8. ἓν καθ' ἓν αὐτῶν. With AP (B_2 omits *αὐτῶν*); Text. Rec. *ἓν καθ' ἑαυτό.*

ἔχων. With A 1; Text. Rec. *εἶχον* with ℵ Primas. Vg.; B_2 reads *ἔχον*; P *ἔχοντα.*

γέμουσιν. Text. Rec. reads *γέμοντα* with 1.

9. δώσουσιν. Primas. reads *dederant* (=? *ἔδωκαν*); Vg. *darent* (= ? *δώσωσιν* ℵB_2 ? *δωσιν* Areth.). In *v.* 10 Haussleiter edits *cadebunt adorabunt.*

10. πεσοῦνται. ℵ has *καὶ πεσ.*

11. ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν. Text. Rec. with 1 substitutes *κύριε*; ℵ prefixes this to text.

ἦσαν καὶ ἐκτίσθησαν. With ℵ and most versions (including Tyconius); Text. Rec. reads *εἰσὶν καὶ ἐκτίσθησαν* with P 1 arm.; B_2 *οὐκ ἦσαν καὶ ἐκτίσθησαν*; A omits *καὶ ἐκτίσθησαν*; Primas. omits *ἦσαν καί*.

Ch. IV. 1—9. Heaven opened.

1. μετὰ ταῦτα. This seems to be a new vision rather than a continuation of what goes before. From i. 13 onwards the Seer has been in spirit in the Heavenly Tabernacle listening to the Heavenly High Priest: now he is for a moment on earth again with heaven far above him.

εἶδον καὶ ἰδού. "I beheld, and lo!" as v. 6, 11 &c.; Dan. vii. 6, 11 &c. It is not, of course, implied that he changed the direction of his gaze.

ἠνεῳγμένη. The participle is used without any verb; he saw the door standing open, he did not see it opened.

ἡ φωνὴ ἡ πρώτη ἣν ἤκουσα ὡς σάλπιγγος λαλούσης μετ' ἐμοῦ. See i. 10 n. The true construction and sense is, "Lo a door set open in heaven, and [lo] the first voice which I had heard as of a trumpet talking with me."

λέγων. The participle does not agree with the substantive "voice," and perhaps we ought to render "one saying." See i. 10 n.

μετὰ ταῦτα. Lit., "After these things," as in i. 19: i.e. perhaps after the state of things described in the Letters to the Seven Churches. See note l.c.

2. ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι. As i. 10 q.v. Up till now, though seeing a supernatural sight, and hearing a supernatural voice, he had not felt himself brought into a supernatural state.

ἔκειτο, i.e. was there already—not that he saw it put in its place. There is a description of the Throne of God in the apocryphal Book of Enoch xiv. 17—23, very like this: probably St John had read it (cf. Jude 15), and his language shews quotations of it, as well as of the canonical passages in Ezek. i. and Dan. vii.

ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον καθήμενος. God the Father, not the Trinity: the manifestation of the other Persons being otherwise indicated, ver. 5, and v. 6. It is intimated, though with an intentional vagueness, that the Divine Presence was symbolised by a human Form, as in Is. vi. 1, 5; Ezek. i. 26 sq.; Dan. vii. 9: contrast Deut. iv. 12, but compare Exod. xxiv. 10, 11, xxxiii. 23. Apparently God revealed Himself by such symbols to men whom He had educated to such a point that they should not imagine them to be *more* than symbols. Therefore perhaps to attempt to include representations of the Father in the range of Christian art is rather of dangerous boldness than *ipso jacto* illegitimate: see on this question Ruskin's *Modern Painters*, Part III. Sec. ii. Chap. v. § 7.

3. **λίθῳ ἰάσπιδι καὶ σαρδίῳ.** Though jasper is the same word in Hebrew, Greek, Latin and modern languages, it appears to have changed its application. The most precious jasper was a quite transparent dark green chalcedony. Our opaque jasper, pure red, pure green and black, were all used for engraving, and a rare combination of our opaque red jasper, and the transparent green was known as iasponyx. Apparently our jaspers, including the common sort, with flakes of red, green, and yellow, were all classed as agates: later on that name was limited to transparent moss agates and extended to the ribbon agates known to Theophrastus as *ὀνύχιον*. The sard is called from the Persian name of its colour, and was certainly the choicest kind of red carnelian, translucent and fiery in colour, but not exactly sparkling. Is the vision, like that in Ex. xxiv. 9—14, suggested in any measure by what is seen in gazing up into the depths of an eastern sky? If so, one is taken from the intense light of noon, the other from the suffused glow of evening.

κυκλόθεν τοῦ θρόνου, i.e. forming an arch over it.

ὅμοιος ὁράσει σμαραγδίνῳ. As *λίθῳ* is not repeated, possibly *σμαραγδίνῳ* agrees with *ὁράσει*: so Prim. and Vulgate; the latter translates as if there were genitives in the previous clause. There is no doubt what stone is meant; we have only the question whether the rainbow was all green, or only produced the same effect on the eye as an emerald—brilliant yet not dazzling. The ancients felt very strongly the relief given to the eye by looking at it, and valued it the more because it was the only really precious stone of which they were able to bring out the full lustre. The rainbow in any case represents God's revelation by a covenant of grace, Gen. ix. 13 sqq.

4. **θρόνους εἴκοσι τέσσαρας.** "Twenty-four thrones." Cf. ii. 13 n.; Dan. vii. 9. If *θρόνους* is right it must depend on *εἶδον*.

εἴκοσι τέσσαρας πρεσβυτέρους. If we read *τοὺς* before *εἴκοσι* it would still be uncertain whether the writer meant 'upon the thrones to wit the twenty-four,' or 'the twenty-four elders,' assuming this number to be known like that of the seven thunders, x. 3. If so, the reference is to Is. xxiv. 23 *ἐνώπιον τῶν πρεσβυτέρων δοξασθήσεται*. If not, we have the choice between two views, both leading to substantially the same result: (i) that the Elders are the twelve Patriarchs, the heads of the tribes of Israel, together with the twelve Apostles, the heads of the new People of God: (ii) that they answer to the heads of the twenty-four courses of the Priests, 1 Chr. xxiv.: these probably suggested the twenty-four representatives of Israel who daily recited the eighteen benedictions in the second Temple (Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, II. 606 b). The *title* of those assessors to the divine Throne is already found in Is. xxiv. 23: and the conception of the twelve Apostles answering to the twelve Tribes appears in Matt. xix. 28, Luke xxii. 30, as well as in this book, xxi. 12, 14. The resemblance between this passage and those in the O. T. and Gospels is not complete—in the account of the Judgement, xx. 11, the Elders are not mentioned: still on the whole they support the former interpretation.

But perhaps the second is not inconsistent with it, for the Elders have certainly a priestly character. They are not *called* Priests in v. 10 according to the true text, and their white robes, though suitable, are not peculiar to priests: but they *act* as priests in v. 8. Either way of explaining their *number* points to the same explanation of their *office:* they are the glorified embodiment and representatives of the people of God.

στεφάνους χρυσοῦς. Probably depends like *πρεσβυτέρους* on *εἶδον* in *v.* 1; unless we are to supply something like "wearing" from *περιβεβλημένους. Στεφάνους* does not necessarily imply royal crowns. We have *διαδήματα* in xix. 12; but probably we are to infer that the elders are kings as well as priests, cf. Zech. vi. 11—13.

5. ἑπτὰ λαμπάδες. Typified by the seven lamps of the candlestick in the Tabernacle, and represented by the "seven golden candlesticks" of the Church on earth: see on i. 20. The significance of the seven-branched candlestick in relation especially to the *Spirit* is suggested in Zech. iv.

ἑπτὰ πνεύματα. See the last note but one on i. 4.

6. θάλασσα ὑαλίνη. As there was a brazen "sea" in front of Solomon's Temple, 1 Kings vii. 23 &c. We find from xi. 19, xv. 5, &c. that St John was now in front of the heavenly Temple—whether the Throne was inside it seems doubtful: xvi. 17 looks as if it were; xi. 19 as if it were not. That Temple had a real sea in front of it—sea-like in extent, no doubt, but a *glassy* sea, calm and transparent, and apparently solid, xv. 2: its earthly representative (see Ecclus. l. 3, and note on ii. 17 above) was hardly more than a tank, though richly ornamented.

ὁμοία κρυστάλλῳ. "Like unto crystal." Ancient glass being not so clear as ours, a further term of comparison seemed necessary. The word *may* mean "ice," but xxi. 11 confirms the A.V.

ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ κύκλῳ τοῦ θρόνου. It is not quite clear how they are placed—whether with their bodies partly *under* the Throne, or only so far "in the midst" of it, that each of the four was in (or opposite to) the middle of one of its four sides. In Ezek. i. 22 we see that the Cherubim *support* the Throne of God, which points to the first view.

τέσσερα ζῷα. Vg. *quattuor animalia*: "Animal" was not fully naturalized when our version was made, and was commonly supposed to be a synonym of "beast," see *New English Dictionary, sub voce*, so that there would have been no gain for popular intelligence. In Ezek. i. 5, (where it was impossible to translate "beasts," and the Hebrew word is cognate to life,) A.V. has "living creatures" as R.V. has here. Possibly the translators of this book in A.V. intended to mark the difference between the preterhuman appearance of the throne-bearers in this vision, and their human appearance in Ezekiel at the price of obliterating the distinction between *θηρίον* in xiii. sqq and *ζῷα*.

7. The description of these living creatures does not exactly agree with any of the O.T. parallels: in Ezek. i., which is the nearest, the four Cherubim, as they are called, have human figures and calves' feet; and *each* has four faces, of the same four animals as these: also they have each four wings, while these have six, like the Seraphim of Is. vi. 2. Probably the meaning is, that these four represent the Cherubim *and* Seraphim who "continually do cry 'Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Sabaoth'." We have no reason to suppose that the Angels, or these super-angelic Beings, have proper bodies or invariable forms: they appear in such forms as may please God, or may be appropriate to the purpose for which He bids them appear. For further discussion as to their meaning, see Excursus I.

ἔχων. Is as likely to be a misspelling resting on mispronunciation as a false concord. Pausanias of Cæsarea in Cappadocia and a famous pupil of Herodes Atticus habitually confounded long and short letters, a common Syrian fault.

8. καὶ τὸ τέσσερα ζῷα.... Render, "And the four living creatures, having each of them six wings apiece, are full of eyes round about and within"; i.e. the statement of *v.* 6, that they are "full of eyes before and behind," is extended to tell us that they are covered with eyes, not only on the parts ordinarily visible; but that when they spread their wings (and the Eagle at least was in the attitude of flight) it is seen that the inside of the wings, and the parts beneath, are full of eyes too.

ἀνάπαυσιν οὐκ ἔχουσιν. The order of words makes it doubtful whether *ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς* should be connected with these words or with *λέγοντες*: but xiv. 11 (where the same words occur in a very different sense) proves that the former view is right. There is *some* resemblance between this place and Enoch xxxix. 11, where Is. vi. 3 is referred to, much as here: it is hardly likely that St John had the passage from Enoch in his mind.

ἅγιος ἅγιος ἅγιος. Is. vi. 3. It will be observed that "Almighty" represents the Heb. "[God] of Hosts": see on i. 8.

ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ὢν κ.τ.λ. Cf. i. 4.

9—11. The Homage of the Elders.

9. καὶ ὅταν δώσουσιν τὰ ζῷα.... The meaning of the futures is doubtful: some take them as "implying eternal repetition of the act." Or the meaning may be (if one may say so reverently) a sort of stage direction: "during the future course of the vision, these (who never leave the scene) are to be understood to be thus employed." But it is always a question in this book whether the use of tenses be not accommodated to the rules of Hebrew rather than Greek grammar: the sense may after all be merely frequentative.

10. βαλοῦσιν. Alford compares Tac. *Ann.* xv. xxix. 3, 6, where Tiridates lays down his crown before the image of Nero, as a token of homage for his kingdom.

11. ἄξιος εἶ. Here we have the praise of God the Creator by His creatures as such: in the next ch. we have the praise of the Redeemer.

λαβεῖν. Generally explained in the sense that by ascribing these things to God His creatures render Him what is His due: it would be possible also to explain it in the sense of *εἴληφας* xi. 17; God has a right to take to Himself all manner of preeminence in the world He has made.

διὰ τὸ θέλημά σου. "Because it pleased Thee": "for Thy pleasure" in A.V. does not necessarily mean "that Thou mightest delight Thyself in them"; "pleasure"="good pleasure."

ἦσαν. Not "they came into being," but "they had their being" as the simple verb substantive is very well translated in Acts xvii. 28.

CHAPTER V.

1. ἔσωθεν καὶ ὄπισθεν. With A; ℵ reads *ἔμπροσθεν καὶ ὄπισθεν*: Orig. in different places is quoted for this reading, for *ἔσωθεν καὶ ἔξωθεν* the reading of B_2P Hipp. And., and for the text.

3. οὐρανῷ. B_2 adds *ἄνω* (? from Ex. xx. 4).

οὐδὲ ὑποκάτω τῆς γῆς. ℵ 12 æth. omit these words, which are placed after *βλέπειν αὐτὸ* in 1 4, 5.

A omits *v.* 4 which the Latin version of Origen quotes thus: *sed ego flebam...et venit quidam ad me et dixit* (*πρεσβυτέρων* and *προσελθὼν* might be confounded if contracted).

καὶ [ἐγὼ]. Tisch. omits *ἐγὼ* with ℵP 1 arm. cop.

πολύ. Orig. omits; Text. Rec. reads *πολλά* apparently without MS. support: 1 arm. (cdd.) æth. read *πολλοί*; cop. *πάντες*.

5. ἀνοῖξαι. B_2 reads *ὁ ἀνοίγων*.

6. καὶ εἶδον. With ℵB_2P 1 Cyp. Primas.; Text. Rec. reads *καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἰδού* with Vg.; A reads *καὶ ἰδού*.

ἑστηκώς. With ℵ 1; Text. Rec. *ἑστηκὸς* with AB_2P.

ἔχων. With ℵAB_2; Text. Rec. and Lachmann read *ἔχον* with P.

7. εἴληφεν. B_2 adds *τὴν*; Text. Rec. *τὸ βιβλίον* with 1 and all Latin authorities.

8. ἔχοντες ἕκαστος. ℵ reads *ἕκαστος ἔχοντες*; Hipp. omits *ἕκαστος*.

κιθάραν. Text. Rec. reads *κιθάρας* with 1 Hipp. And. ? and all Latins.

αἵ εἰσιν. ℵB_2 have *ἅ εἰσιν*.

9. ᾄδουσιν. A reads *ἀδωσιν*, which clearly rests on mispronunciation; not as is generally assumed, where MSS. are divided between future indicatives and aorist subjunctives, on grammatical idiosyncrasies of the writer.

ἠγόρασας τῷ θεῷ. A reads *τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν*, and omits these words after *ἐπ. αὐτούς* in the next verse; 1 cop. omit *τῷ θεῷ*, which æth. inserts after *ἐν τῷ αἵματί σου*; Text. Rec. adds *ἡμᾶς* with ℵBP 1 and Latins.

10. ἐποίησας αὐτούς. Text. Rec. reads *ἐπ. ἡμᾶς* with all Latin authorities, except Cyp. and cod. am.

βασιλείαν. Text. Rec. reads *βασιλεῖς* with B_2.

βασιλεύσουσιν. With ℵP 1; Lachmann reads *βασιλεύουσιν* with AB_2; Text. Rec. reads *βασιλεύσομεν* with Primas. and Vg.

12. ἄξιον. Tisch. reads *ἄξιος* with A.

13. καὶ ὑποκάτω τῆς γῆς. ℵ cop. arm. omit these words.

τῆς θαλάσσης. Lachmann adds *ἐστιν* with A; Text. Rec. adds *ἃ ἐστιν* with B_2.

πάντα. Tisch. adds *καὶ* with ℵ and B_2, which reads *πάντα καὶ πάντας.*

14. προσεκύνησαν. Text. Rec. adds *ζῶντι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων* with Primas. and late Vg.

Ch. V. 1—8. The Book with Seven Seals.

1. ἐπὶ τὴν δεξιάν. Perhaps the simplest explanation of the case is that in a decaying language an illiterate writer who knew that *ἐπὶ* was used with three cases took the accusative, where his phrase did not suggest the correct case as in *ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ*: possibly we are to understand that, as the book had not been seen before, the construction marks a new feature in the Vision, as if the book were so to speak an addition to the Hand. It lies in any case upon the open palm.

βιβλίον, i.e. a roll; the ordinary meaning for the equivalent words in all ancient literature, though books arranged in leaves like ours were not unknown.

γεγραμμένον ἔσωθεν καὶ ὄπισθεν. So Ezek. ii. 10. It was a recognised but quite exceptional way of getting an unusual amount of matter into a single volume: such rolls were called *opisthographi*. See Juv. i. 6, where he complains of an interminable poem, "written till the margin at the top of the book is full, and on the back, and not finished yet." Ancient commentators who knew this still found many mysteries in the distinction between what was written without and what was written within. If we are to ask, how St John saw that it was thus written, it may be said that he saw that there was writing on the part outside, between the seals, and took for granted that this implied that the side folded inwards was full of writing too. But perhaps this is too minute: St John saw the book now, and learnt (either now or afterwards) how it was written.

κατεσφραγισμένον. See Is. xxix. 11, Dan. xii. 4. The seals are along the edge of one end of the roll.

The traditional view, so far as there is one, of this sealed book is, that it represents the Old Testament, or more generally the prophecies of Scripture, which are only made intelligible by their fulfilment in Christ. But Christ's fulfilment of prophecy was, in St John's time, to a great extent past: and he was told (iv. 1) that

what he was now to see was concerned with the future. Many post-Reformation commentators, both Romanist and Protestant, have supposed the book to be the Apocalypse itself: some supposing, by a further refinement, that the seven seals were so arranged that, when each was opened, a few lines of the book could be unrolled, viz. those describing what was seen after its opening: while the opening of the last would enable the whole roll to be spread out. But of this there is not the smallest evidence in the Apocalypse itself: nor do we ever find the Prophets of Scripture representing, as Mahomet did, that their writings are copies of an original archetype in Heaven; though apparently the angel, Dan. x. 21, has read in Heaven what he declares to the seer on earth. Most modern commentators therefore generalise, and suppose that it is the Book of God's counsels. Some insist on the fact that, though the seals are all broken, "no portion of the roll is actually unfolded, nor is anything read out of the book": they suppose it to stand for the *complete* counsel of God, which will not become intelligible till it has *all* been fulfilled, not therefore before the end of time. But this book tells us what is to happen until all *has* been fulfilled, until time *has* ended: and why then do we not hear of the opening of the book, even if it be not for us yet to know what is written therein? And to this we may answer, we *are* told, xx. 12, of the opening of a very important Book, the Book of Life; and that Book belongs to the Lamb that was slain, xiii. 8, xxi. 27. Is not then this Book the same as that? so that the opening of it will be "the manifestation of the sons of God" (Rom. viii. 19).

3. οὐδείς. "No one"—the term includes others as well as men.

ὑποκάτω τῆς γῆς, i.e. in the world of the dead. In view of ver. 13, we can hardly make it mean "in the sea," on the analogy of Ex. xx. 4 fin. See on *v.* 13.

οὔτε βλέπειν αὐτό. Which would have enabled him to read some fragments of its contents, viz. as much as was written on the outer fold of the back of the roll.

4. καὶ [ἐγὼ]. The pronoun if genuine is emphatic: "no one could open it: I for my part wept for the impossibility." *Why* he wept will be variously explained, according to the view taken of the meaning of the Book. If it be the Book of Life, the reason is obvious: if it be the future purposes of God, the impossibility of opening it threatened to disappoint the promise of iv. 1.

5. εἷς ἐκ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων. Cf. vii. 13, xv. 7, xvii. 1, xxi. 9.

ὁ λέων ὁ ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Ἰούδα. Gen. xlix. 9.

ἡ ῥίζα Δαυείδ. xxii. 16; Is. xi. 1, 10, where however we have the Root of *Jesse*. Some distinguish the two phrases, as if Christ were said to grow from the obscure Jesse in reference to the time of His humiliation, from the kingly David in reference to His exaltation. But this shews a misconception of the original figure, which is taken from a tree that seemed to be dying, like the house of David in the

days of Ahaz (Is. vii. 13): then a new and stately stem shoots up from the root.

ἀνοῖξαι. Christ's victory (won upon earth, which is an argument that the whole of the context is Christian) has this consequence that He can "open." The well supported variant *ὁ ἀνοίγων* is grammatically easier and less effective—both presumptions in favour of the text.

6. καὶ εἶδον. There is high ancient authority for substituting *καὶ ἰδοὺ*, and some for adding it.

ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ θρόνου. See on iv. 6. In this passage, the sense might be merely "in the centre of the (semicircular?) space surrounded by...," but vii. 17 disproves this. If it be not rash to attempt to work out the details of the picture, I would conjecture that the four living creatures were under the four corners of the Throne, with their heads and wings projecting beyond it: and the Lamb stood in the midst of the front of it, appearing as proceeding from between the feet of Him who sat thereon.

ἀρνίον. See Is. liii. 7: John i. 29, 36. Too much importance has been given to the fact that St John uses a different Greek word here from that in his Gospel, and in the LXX. of Isaiah. It is doubtful whether the LXX. is used in the O.T. references in this book; and the form here used is a diminutive and a neuter. It is awkward to use a neuter noun of a Person; but in this book St John boldly uses masculines in reference to the Lamb (as in his Gospel he once or twice does in reference to the Spirit): while in the Gospel he is less regardless of grammatical rules, and therefore prefers the masc. form.

ἑστηκὼς ὡς ἐσφαγμένον. If *ἑστηκὼς* be right we should surely read *ἰδοὺ* above, a masculine nominative participle agreeing with a neuter accusative would be almost incredibly harsh. The construction calls attention to the paradox—a Lamb appearing with its throat cut, yet not lying dead or dying, but standing. It serves to typify "Him that liveth and was dead, and is alive for evermore" (i. 18). The risen Christ bore, and doubtless bears, the wounds of His Passion unaltered—unhealed, though apparently not bleeding, John xx. 25, 27.

κέρατα ἑπτὰ κ.τ.λ. The Spirit is made to Him both strength and wisdom. The horn is throughout the Bible the symbol of conquering might and glory: see e.g. 1 Kings xxii. 11; Zech. i. 18 sqq., while 1 Sam. ii. 1, &c. shew that divine glory as well as earthly may be so expressed. For the seven eyes, see Zech. iii. 9, iv. 10.

τὰ ἑπτὰ πνεύματα. i. 4, iv. 5.

ἀπεσταλμένοι. Taken, of course, from Zech. iv. 10 already referred to. The seven lamps of iv. 5 represent the Spirit as eternally proceeding from and belonging to the Father: these represent Him as sent by the Son and belonging to the Son.

7. καὶ ἦλθεν καὶ εἴληφεν. The absence of an object for *εἴληφεν* is very strange: and the difficulties of this book are due rather as a rule to redundancies than to ellipses: the perfect after the aorist

is very strange also; cf. however *Ev. Petri* ἐχάρησαν δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ δεδώκασι τῷ Ἰωσὴφ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ. Winer's reference p. 340 to the custom of scholiasts, who explain an aorist verb in the text by a verb in the perfect, is irrelevant; the aorist is far commoner than the perfect in the language of the New Testament, whatever it may be in the language of scholiasts, and probably scholiasts use the perfect in explaining the matter of a book for the same reason as ancient and modern commentators use the present in discussing a writer who lived long ago: we say, "he says, he means, he sees, &c." Cf. note on πῶς εἵληφας καὶ ἤκουσας (iii. 3).

8. **ἔχοντες ἕκαστος κιθάραν.** The singular is certainly right, though nearly all Latin Versions, and fathers, and most late Greek MSS., alter it to suit φιάλας. If we attempt to carry the image into detail it is obvious that it was as impossible for the elders literally to play their harps and hold their bowls as it would be to speak while holding a two-edged sword in the mouth; up to a certain point it is not more difficult to *picture* the Living Creatures holding harps than the Lamb taking the Book and breaking the seals; nor is it more unfit that Cherubim and Seraphim should present the prayers of Saints than that a single Angel should bless them, as in viii. 3 sq.

φιάλας χρυσᾶς. The "vials" are broad open bowls; more like saucers than any vessel in modern use: it is a curious question how the word came to mean a bottle: apparently the φιάλη was intermediate between the κρατήρ and the drinking cup: it served the purpose of a bottle, and so the bottle, when it replaced it, took its name: the oldest French instance of *fiole* in the sense of bottle is in Joinville's *Life of St Louis*, who kept a large bottle of wine and another of water on his table so that his knights might mix for themselves; but the change is probably older, as Henry III. provided an onyx *phiola* for his shrine of Edward the Confessor, which probably resembled the perfume jars of the same material called ἀλάβαστρα, as having no handles, used in French cathedrals to hold the holy oil.

αἵ εἰσιν αἱ προσευχαί. If αἵ be right, and if we are to press the grammar, it is the "vials" with their contents, not merely the "odours," which are identified with the "prayers." See viii. 3 and note there. Cf. Ps. cxli. (cxl. LXX.) 2 κατευθυνθήτω ἡ προσευχή μου ὡς θυμίαμα ἐνώπιόν σου.

9—14. The New Song.

9. ᾄδουσιν. This may be only an historic present, but perhaps, though to the Seer the song of adoration appeared to begin now, and to stop in time to let other voices be heard, he means to intimate that in fact their adoration is continued to eternity. See on iv. 9, 10.

ἠγόρασας. Prim. *emisti*, Vg. *redemisti*. The distinction between the two (for instance Eph. v. 16, Col. iv. 5, *redimentes* is a quite correct translation of ἐξαγοραζόμενοι) exists far less in Latin than in modern English, where the word has come to mean that the effect of

the purchase is to restore those bought either to their rightful owner or to liberty (neither of these can be intended in A. V. "redeeming the time"). Here of course both are true, but all that this text expresses is that Christ has bought us, and that we now belong to His Father (in 1 Cor. vi. 20, vii. 23; 2 Pet. ii. 1 both Vg. and A.V. have the simple verb). The elders probably *represent* the whole multitude of the redeemed, but they are not here said to belong to that number, and the living creatures certainly do not. The insertion of *ἡμᾶς* after *ἠγόρασας* though very well attested is condemned by the following *αὐτούς* after *ἐποίησας*.

τῷ θεῷ. Notice that the phrase is the exact reverse of some lax modern language on the Atonement, which speaks as if the Son redeemed men *from* the Father. To say that Christ redeemed men from God's *wrath* may be justified (e.g. by Gal. iii. 13); but even that mode of expression is not exactly scriptural. Since St Anselm's time most competent theologians have refrained from pressing the metaphor of a ransom which is frequent in Scripture.

ἐκ πάσης φυλῆς καὶ γλώσσης καὶ λαοῦ καὶ ἔθνους. Cf. Dan. iii. 4 and parallels. The three terms there are made into four here, perhaps because neither of the Greek versions translates consistently, but each sometimes uses λαὸς and sometimes *ἔθνος*. All surviving MSS. and versions of our Book always give both, though the order is sometimes such as to suggest the question whether one or other is not an afterthought. The passage is generally and rightly explained as fully parallel to vii. 9, 10, and so the first of many indications in this Book of the catholicity of the Church, and of course a conclusive refutation of the theories (see on ii. 2) which ascribe to this Book a controversial anti-Pauline purpose, and a spirit of Jewish exclusiveness. There is really hardly anything in St Paul so strong as this or vii. 9. But if this passage stood alone, it might be explained as a parallel to Is. lxvi. 20 of the redemption of the literal Israel out of all nations to be a royal priesthood.

10. βασιλείαν καὶ ἱερεῖς. See on i. 6 for the origin of the phrase.

βασιλεύ[σ]ουσιν. Authorities are nearly evenly divided between the present and future, and from the nature of the case authorities have here to be counted not weighed. Perhaps the present is to be preferred, as the more difficult in sense; the future could be easily understood of the millennial reign (xx. 4), whatever that means. If we accept the present, it can hardly be used *for* a future; every one must feel that ii. 22, &c. are not really parallel: rather, we may say that the faithful on earth are, even in their exile, kings *de jure*, as David was "when he was in the wilderness of Judah" (Ps. lxiii. ult., cf. title).

11. καὶ εἶδον. Here we might almost translate "in my vision," though it is no doubt implied that he saw the Angels whose voice he heard.

κύκλῳ. We cannot tell if they formed a complete circle round the Throne, or a semicircle between it and the Seer, or a semicircle on the

side away from him. But though we cannot answer these questions, it is worth while to ask them: for it is plain that St John did see a definite picture.

μυριάδες μυριάδων. Lit. "myriads of myriads," the Greek (and Hebrew) language having a single word for the number 10,000: so that the effect is as if we should say "millions of millions and thousands of thousands" (in Gen. xxiv. 60 words equivalent to these are translated "thousands of millions"). In Dan. vii. 10 the order is the reverse, "thousand thousands...and ten thousand times ten thousand," with the obvious motive of a climax: here the effect is, "there were hundreds of millions massed together, and if you counted those in the mass, the numbers you would leave over would be millions still." The passage in Daniel is also imitated in Enoch xiv. 24, xl. 1.

12. λέγοντες. The nominative would have been the correct construction if the number of the angels could have been expressed by a masculine adjective, and is still more natural than the genitive.

ἄξιον...λαβεῖν. See on iv. 11. Here (referring to Heb. i. 2) we might paraphrase: "The Son is worthy to enter on His Heritage." The Kingdom of the Son of David increases without end, Is. ix. 7.

τὴν δύναμιν κ.τ.λ. Perhaps the single article may be intended to mark that all the seven members of the gift are inseparable.

13. πᾶν κτίσμα. Cf. Phil. ii. 10, 11.

ὑποκάτω τῆς γῆς. See on *v.* 3. It seems harsh to understand the words of an *unwilling* cooperation of the devils in glorifying God and His Son, besides that Jude 6 seems hardly to prove that *all* fallen spirits are yet confined "under the earth": Matt. viii. 29 compared with Luke viii. 31, not to mention the "Wars in Heaven" xii. 7, 9, suggests the contrary. It is more possible to suppose the dead, even the holy dead, to be described as "under the earth," Ps. xxii. 29. In Enoch lxii. we have a hymn, somewhat resembling those of this Book, actually sung by the souls of the lost—apparently in the intervals of their suffering. The souls of the Martyrs appear from this Book to be in Heaven, vi. 9 sqq.: but we cannot be sure that this is true of all the faithful, and it is not certain that a disembodied soul can be said, except figuratively, to be in any place at all: so that the place where their bodies lie is perhaps the only place where the dead can properly be said to be.

ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης. This, like *ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*, includes both human and animal life: the former is the explanation of *λέγοντας* in the masculine just below.

ἡ εὐλογία κ.τ.λ. The article is repeated with each noun intentionally. Whatever power and riches..., whatever blessing and honour... the world contains, all belong of right to Him. Watts' "Blessings *more than we can give*" is a perfectly legitimate development of the sense.

14. καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἔπεσαν καὶ προσεκύνησαν. The brevity of the phrase, imitating their silent adoration, is really grander than the complete sentence of the Received Text.

CHAPTER VI.

1. εἶδον. Primas. omits.

λέγοντος ὡς φωνὴ βροντῆς. A reads *ὡς φ. βρ.* λέγοντος; Primas. omits *ὡς φ. βρ.*; ℵ reads λεγοντων *ὡς φωνὴν βρ.*; Text. Rec. with P 1 *λέγοντος ὡς φωνῆς βρ.*

1, 2. ἔρχου. καὶ εἶδον, καὶ ἰδού. $\aleph B_3$ and Latin read *ἔρχου καὶ ἴδε, καὶ ἰδού*; hence Text. Rec. reads *ἔρχου καὶ βλέπε* from Vg.

2. νικῶν. A arm. read *ὁ νικων* (arm. omitting the following *καὶ*).

καὶ ἵνα νικήσῃ. ℵ reads *καὶ ἐνίκησεν*; Primas. *Et exiit ut vinceret et victor exiit.*

3. ἔρχου. Text. Rec. adds *καὶ βλέπε*; ℵ *καὶ ἴδε*; Latt. *et vide.*

4. καὶ ἐξῆλθεν. ℵ reads *καὶ ἴδων, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐξῆλθεν.*

ἐδόθη αὐτῷ. ℵ°A omit *αὐτῷ.*

σφάξουσιν with AC 36; Text. Rec. reads *σφαξωσιν* with $\aleph B_3$P 1 &c.

5. ἔρχου with ACP; Text. Rec. *καὶ βλέπε*; $\aleph B_3$ *καὶ ἴδε*; Latt. *et vide.*

καὶ εἶδον, καὶ ἰδού. B_3 omits *καὶ εἶδον*; Primas. omits *καὶ ἰδού.*

7. ἔρχου with ACP; Text. Rec. adds *καὶ βλέπε* with $\aleph B_3$ (*καὶ ἴδε*) and Latt.; B_3 and several MSS. of Vg. omit *καὶ εἶδον*, and Primas. *καὶ ἰδού*, in *v.* 8.

8. ἠκολούθει μετ' αὐτοῦ. Origen quotes this as if he read *ὁ θάνατος, καὶ ὁ ᾅδης ἀκολουθεῖ αὐτοῖς.*

ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς. B_3 &c. read *ἐδ. αὐτῷ.*

ὑπὸ τῶν θηρ. A reads *τὸ τέταρτον τῶν θηρίων.*

9. τῶν ἐσφαγμένων. Clem. reads *μεμαρτυρημένων*; Hipp. *τῶν πεπελεκισμένων, καὶ κτλ.* 4. $\aleph$P 1 read *τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐσφ.*

διὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ διὰ τὴν μαρτ. ἣν εἶχ. Hipp. reads *διὰ τὸ ὄνομα Ἰησοῦ*; Cyp. Primas. *propter verbum Dei et martyrium suum.*

10. ἔκραξαν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ, λέγοντες. Hipp. reads *καὶ ἐβόησαν καὶ εἶπον πρὸς τὸν θεόν.*

11. ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς ἑκάστῳ στολὴ λευκή. Hipp. reads *ἐδόθησαν αὐτοῖς στολαὶ λευκαί*, and so Vg.; Primas. *datae sunt eis singulis stolae albae* (omitting the rest of the verse which Cyp. recognises); B_3 omits *ἑκάστῳ.*

ἀναπαύσωνται. Hipp. reads *περιμείνωσιν.*

πληρώσωσιν. Hipp. adds *τὴν μαρτ. αὐτῶν*; AC read *πληρωθωσιν.*

καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτῶν. Hipp. omits these words.

12. καὶ σεισμὸς with $\aleph B_2$CP 1 and early Vg.^{ms}; Text. Rec. reads *καὶ ἰδοὺ σεισμὸς* with A and late Vg.

μέγας ἐγένετο with $\aleph B_2$CP; A reads *ἐγένετο μέγας.*

ἐγένετο μέλας with ACP; Tisch. reads *μέλας ἐγένετο* with $\aleph B_2$.

ὅλη. Text. Rec. omits with P 1.

13. **τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.** Primas. omits; A reads *τοῦ θεοῦ*.

βάλλει. Tisch. read *βάλλουσα* with ℵ and many cursives.

14. **νῆσος.** ℵ reads *βουνός*.

ἐκινήθησαν. ℵ* reads *ἐκίνησαν*; A *ἀπεκείνησαν*.

15. **καὶ οἱ χιλίαρχοι, καὶ οἱ πλούσιοι, καὶ οἱ ἰσχυροί.** Cop. omits *καὶ οἱ χιλίαρχοι*; A omits the first *καὶ*; 1 36 read *καὶ οἱ πλούσιοι καὶ οἱ χιλ.*; 1 36 aeth. omit *καὶ οἱ ἰσχυροί*.

17. **αὐτῶν** with ℵC syr. vg. Text. Rec. Lach. Weiss. read *αὐτοῦ* with AB_2P.

The Opening of the Seven Seals.

Ch. VI. 1, 2. The First Seal.

1. **μίαν ἐκ τῶν ἑπτὰ σφραγίδων.** It is noteworthy that in this first Vision we have "one, not "the first," as in the Visions of the "Trumpets" and "Vials." *μία*, in the New Testament, does stand for the first day of the week with and without the article, and with the article in ix. 12 it certainly seems to stand for the first Woe.

ἑνὸς ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων. Presumably the Lion, as the other voices are described as those of the second, third, and fourth. But the voice like thunder, cf. x. 3, does not refer to the lion's roaring: no doubt the other three voices were as loud.

ὡς φωνὴ βροντῆς. These words have no precise construction; it is to be supposed that the first term of the comparison is left to be imagined from *λέγοντος*.

ἔρχου. See critical note. *καὶ ἴδε* is almost certainly spurious and is not even a correct gloss. If the Seer needed to be bidden draw nigh (which he does not) the word would probably be *δεῦρο* as in xvii. 1, xxi. 9, and certainly he would only be bidden once. It would be less impossible to suppose, comparing xxii. 17, 20, that the cry is addressed to the Lord Jesus. His creatures pray Him to come and behold, instead of His coming immediately, there come those terrible precursors of His, so increasingly unlike Him. If so, why is He not named as in xxii. 20, though not in 17? Moreover the scene is in Heaven, where He is visibly present, and the seals have to be opened one by one. The whole meaning of the phrase is that each of the living creatures by turns summons one of the four Horsemen.

2. **ἰδοὺ ἵππος λευκός.** The image of these four horses is certainly suggested by the vision of four chariots (with perhaps four horses in each, and so related to this exactly as Ezekiel's vision of the living creatures to that in ch. iv.) in Zech. vi. 1—8; cf. ibid. i. 8. But that passage throws little light on this: it is in fact the obscurer of the two. Here, the colours of the four horses plainly symbolise *triumph*, *slaughter*, *mourning*, and *death*; we are told expressly who the fourth Rider is: and hardly anyone doubts that the second and

third represent War and Scarcity respectively. But about the first there is controversy. His white horse and golden crown resemble His Who appears in xix. 11, Whose Name is called the Word of God: and hence many think that this Rider is Christ, or at least the representative of Christ's Kingdom. But is it possible that when He has come, the plagues that follow should come after Him? or why should the living creatures continue to cry to Him to come, if He be come already? It would be more credible, that the first Rider is a *false* Christ, just as Matt. xxiv. 5 precedes *vv.* 6, 7. But on the whole it seems more reasonable to suppose that all four Riders symbolise the woes before Christ's coming foretold in the two latter verses: and that the first is the spirit of Conquest:—the description is like that in ch. xix., because there Christ is described as a Conqueror, and here we have a Conqueror who is nothing more. Then what is the difference between the first and the second Rider? Conquest is necessarily painful—it may be unjust and cruel, but it may be beneficent even to the conquered: at least it is not necessarily demoralising to the conquerors, as war becomes when it sinks from conquest into mere mutual slaughter. This Rider has a bow, that a sword, which may mean more than a contrast between the national weapons of the East and the West: the first is prepared to fight, and slay if necessary, but he will do so without passion or cruelty—just as it is commonly observed, that fire-arms have tended to make war less brutal, by removing the soldiers from the excitement of a personal struggle.

ἔχων is a predicate, though λευκός is an epithet.

ἐδόθη αὐτῷ. Here, as in ver. 4, we may ask, does the Rider receive the gift for the first time after his appearance to the Seer? This is not necessary here or in Dan. vii. 4, 6, 14, 27, which no doubt suggested the phrase: it is safer to say that the gift is an event of the Vision than that the Seer actually sees it given; in Dan. vii. 4 this would be impossible. Any way, the crown, see on ii. 10, iii. 11, is rather an earnest of future dominion than a guerdon of past achievements.

ἐξῆλθεν. If this stood alone we should suppose that the Rider departed out of the field of vision—perhaps out of Heaven—to carry his conquests over the earth. Most commentators assume that ἐξῆλθεν changes its sense with its place: if not, both Riders come forth from a secret place behind the Throne.

νικῶν, καὶ ἵνα νικήσῃ. He makes war successfully, but his purpose is the securing the victory, not the excitement of battle and carnage.

3, 4. The Second Seal.

4. ἐδόθη αὐτῷ: see crit. note and on ii. 7.

τὴν εἰρήνην. This may mean merely "peace in general," "peace in the abstract," but may also stand for "*the* peace" which the conquests of the previous Rider have left as their fruit.

ἵνα ἀλλήλους σφάξουσιν. This is the first instance of the future with *ἵνα*, which illiterate "barbarians" would think as natural as the future with *ὅπως*. The MSS. are never unanimous: the editors are by no means always unanimous, nor is it possible, on the hypothesis that the writer conforms fitfully to the common construction, ever to be quite sure whether the MSS. which represent the "regular" or the "irregular" construction are right. No MS. has the "irregular" construction in all the places where it commends itself to a majority of editors. Moreover most of the forms which mark the future or the subjunctive are liable to be confounded with one another. A possible theory is that in this Book *ἵνα* with the future indicative corresponds to *ἵνα* with the subjunctive in ordinary Greek, while *ἵνα* with the subjunctive aorist (which is *much* commoner than the present) corresponds to *ἵνα* with the optative. As for the sense, some understand this of *civil* war exclusively: and such wars have indeed most of the character of war as indicated under this seal. But its full meaning perhaps includes all wars, so far as they are aimless bloodshedding, not painful steps towards human progress. Here we can agree almost entirely with the "continuous historical" interpreters, who see the fulfilment of these four seals in the reigns of the "five good emperors," when Trajan carried imperial conquest to its utmost height; in the civil wars and mutinies during and after the age of the Severi; in the famines that followed; and in the general distress that made the Barbarian conquest possible. Only we need not regard their meaning as exhausted in the fifth century (much less in the third). We may see e.g. the contrast of the two first seals in the Crusades compared with the religious wars of the Reformation: in the conquests of the French Republic and Empire, compared with the Red and the White Terror, and the mutual crimes of the Holy Alliance and the Carbonari: even in our own country, in a comparison of the reigns of Edward III. and Henry V. with those of their respective successors, or of Elizabeth's with Charles I.'s: while again the civil war of the latter was noble and fruitful compared with the Dutch war of his son.

5, 6. The Third Seal.

5. ζυγόν. What follows proves that scarcity rather than oppression is symbolised. The sense is, that mankind shall be placed on limited rations of bread, like the people in a besieged city; as in Levit. xxvi. 26; Ezek. iv. 16.

6. φωνήν. One of the many voices heard throughout this book without anyone being defined as the speaker.

χοῖνιξ σίτου. The object of the voice is rather to *define* the extent of the scarcity than, as some say, to mitigate it. It is noticeable that here as in 2 Kings vii. 18 there is a simple ratio between the price of wheat and that of barley, which is probably due to the fact that they were constantly bartered for each other without the intervention of money. The proportion varied in different famines. Joshua the Stylite says that in a famine at Edessa 500 A.D. 4 *modii* of wheat were sold for a dinar, and six *modii* of barley for the same.

So too Barhebraeus says that in a famine in Bagdad A.H. 373 (= 983 A.D.) wheat was exactly double the price of barley (as in Samaria), a cor of wheat sold for 4080 zuzas and a cor of barley for 2040 zuzas. A quart (or somewhat less) of corn is to be bought for a silver penny (about 8½*d.*): the former was the estimated ration for an able-bodied man's daily fare, the latter the daily pay of a soldier, apparently a liberal daily pay (see Matt. xx. 2) for a labourer. So there is not such a famine that the poor must starve, and the rich "give their pleasant things for meat to relieve the soul": the working man can, if he pleases, earn the ordinary necessaries of life for himself: he may even procure a bare comfortless subsistence (for barley, an ordinary article of human food down to the time of the kings of Israel, was now considered as fodder for cattle) for a family, if not too numerous. Meanwhile, nothing is said about the fish and vegetables, which the plain-living man of the Mediterranean ate with his bread, as the plain-living Englishman eats bacon or cheese: but the comparatively superfluous luxuries of wine and oil are carefully protected. In short, we have a picture of "bad times," when no one need be absolutely without bare necessaries, and those who can afford it need not go without luxuries. All that we know of the age of the decline of the Roman Empire points to this prophecy having been eminently fulfilled then; but we need not go so far for fulfilments of it any more than of the two former: indeed this is much nearer to us than the Grand Army and the barricades, or Waterloo and Peterloo.

7, 8. The Fourth Seal.

7. ἤκουσα φωνήν. The slight variation of phrase serves to mark the fourth rider off, as partly distinct in character from the rest. They have brought an increasing series of scourges to the earth: his work is utter and unmitigated woe, combining the worst features of theirs.

8. χλωρός. "Livid," lit. "green," as in viii. 7, but used constantly of the paleness of the human face when terror-struck, or dead or dying. The colour is certainly symbolical, and it is not certain whether it here expresses a possible colour for a real horse: it seems not very appropriate for the "grisled" of Zech. vi. 3.

ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ. For the previous riders the phrase is *ἐπ' αὐτόν*; Alford remarks upon the contrast and proposes the rendering "atop of him," perhaps taking it to suggest that the spectre (or skelcton or demon?) did not ride astride and manage his horse, but simply sat clumsily on his back.

ὄνομα αὐτῷ ὁ θάνατος. Practically a Hebraism for *κέκληται ὁ θάνατος*, which gives rather more emphasis to the *name*, while maintaining the symmetry by leaving *ὁ καθήμενος* in the nominative.

ὁ ᾅδης. Personified as a demon, as in xx. 13, 14. He follows Death, to devour those slain by him.

τὸ τέταρτον τῆς γῆς. Are we to suppose that a fourth part of the earth is a prey to each of the four riders? that the three first

decimate or afflict their subjects and the last exterminates his? or that sword, famine, and pestilence, cut off the fourth part of men and deliver them to Hades? It would agree with this that a third part is smitten by the plagues of the first four trumpets and of the sixth. The difficulty of this view is that, though *θάνατος* in the next clause clearly stands for pestilence as in Ezek. xiv. 21 (LXX.), we cannot limit it so here: the Rider on the Pale Horse is sovereign over all four modes of death, though perhaps pestilence is most closely connected with his nature.

ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ καὶ ἐν λιμῷ καὶ ἐν θανάτῳ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων τῆς γῆς. God's "four sore judgements," Ezek. xiv. 21. "The beasts of the earth," which have not been hinted at before, are no doubt suggested by the parallel: there is no reason to vary the preposition in English, but in Greek the instrumental Hellenistic *ἐν* would be ambiguous in the fourth clause, as *ἐν τοῖς θηρίοις* might mean "among the beasts."

9—11. The Fifth Seal.

9. This series of seven visions, like the other groups of seven throughout the book, is divided into two parts. We have seen (ii. 7, 29) that the messages to the seven Churches were divided into a group of *three* and one of *four*: here the first *four* seals are marked off from the last *three*, and similarly the four trumpets of chap. viii. from the three that follow in chaps. ix.—xi.: perhaps also, though less clearly, the vials of chap. xvi.

ὑποκάτω τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου. The altar, first mentioned here, was part of the arrangements of the heavenly Temple: see on iv. 6. Are we to understand that its position was that of the *golden* altar within the Holy Place (Ex. xxx. 1 sqq.)? is it in itself an altar of incense or of burnt offering? In viii. 3 sqq. we find incense offered at a heavenly golden altar, and it is not distinguished from this: yet it may be thought that the image here is more suitable to the altar of sacrifice. For at the foot of it the blood of the victims was poured out (Ex. xxix. 12), and the blood, we are told repeatedly, is the life: then is it not meant that the lives or souls (the words are interchangeable, as Matt. xvi. 25 sqq.) of the martyrs are poured out at the foot of the heavenly altar, when they sacrifice their lives to God? Probably it *is* meant: but we are not to assume without evidence that the altar here is different from that in chap. viii. Admitting that the Israelite tabernacle and Temple were copies of a really subsisting heavenly archetype, it is not certain that they were exact copies in all respects: they might have to be modified to suit material conditions. Just as it was impossible to have a real sea (see on iv. 6) in front of the earthly temple, so it may have been necessary to have on earth an inner and an outer Sanctuary, an altar before each, whereon to present the symbols of those things which in heaven are offered on one. This altar, like the golden altar of chap. viii., is *ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου*: the "sea" in the court of the earthly temple is doubtless copied from the "sea" in heaven; but the Temple proper does not seem yet to enter the vision; the Throne

is set in the court and "the train" fills it—and the gaze of the Seer.

τὰς ψυχάς. The souls. There is undoubtedly a distinction throughout the N.T. between the words for "soul," the mere principle of natural life, and "spirit," the immortal and heavenly part of man: see especially 1 Cor. xv. 44 sqq. Yet it is probably an overstatement of this distinction to say that these are mere lost lives, crying to God for vengeance like Abel's blood (Gen. iv. 10), but different from the immortal souls, which have all their wants satisfied, and desire the salvation, not the punishment, of their murderers. They are the "lives" of the slain: their being under the altar *is* well illustrated by the ceremonial outpouring of the blood, and their cry for vengeance by that of the blood of Abel, but what follows in the next verse is surely addressed to the inmost souls of the saints, not to impersonal abstract "lives."

τῶν ἐσφαγμένων. As the four former seals correspond to Matt. xxiv. 6—8, so this to ibid. 9. In Enoch xl. 5, a voice (that of "him who presides over every suffering and every wound of the sons of men, the holy Raphael," ib. 9) is heard "blessing the elect One, and the elect who are crucified on account of the Lord of spirits." There is a passage more like this in sense in the same book, xlvii. 2, "In that day shall the holy ones assemble who dwell above the heavens, and with united voice petition, supplicate, praise, laud, and bless the name of the Lord of spirits, on account of the blood of the righteous which has been shed, that the prayer of the righteous may not be intermitted before the Lord of spirits; that for them He would execute judgement, and that His patience may not endure for ever."

διὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ διὰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν. i. 9, xx. 4.

ἣν εἶχον. Cf. xii. 17, fin. where the word rendered "held" here in A.V. is more simply translated "have." Some argue from the name of *Jesus* not being used here, as in the three places referred to, for describing their testimony, that these are Old Testament martyrs, like those in Heb. xi. *ad fin.* But surely *their* blood was very amply avenged, and very speedily: of the three great persecutors, Jezebel and Antiochus perished miserably, and Manasseh suffered equal misery, though he repented in time to receive some alleviation of it. We have, however, a Jewish parallel to the thought of this passage in Enoch xxii. 5 sqq., where Enoch hears in heaven the accusing cry of the spirit (*πνεῦμα*—not, as in Genesis, the blood) of Abel.

10. ἕως πότε. Ps. xciv. (xciii. LXX.) 3 *ἕως πότε ἁμαρτωλοὶ κύριε, ἕως πότε ἁμαρτωλοὶ καυχήσονται;*

ὁ δεσπότης. Not the ordinary word of reverence applied to God, but one meaning (as we say) "lord and master." It is used of God in Luke ii. 29; Acts iv. 24, and of Christ in Jude 4 (according to the right reading and probable translation); 2 Pet. ii. 1. Perhaps, as the usual word "Lord" in the N.T. and other Hellenistic writings

stands for the Name Jehovah, so this is used where the *sense* "Lord" is really meant, i.e. it answers to the name *Adonai*, which the Jews pronounced instead of the Unutterable Name, and which Symeon and the Apostolic Church no doubt used in their thanksgivings. The use of the word after the Incarnation, and especially after the Ascension, shews that it is no argument for these Martyrs being only Jews—as though it proved a servile rather than filial spirit, as some have imagined: at most, it only proves Jewish habits of expression, and it needs no proof that such prevail throughout this Book.

οὐ κρίνεις καὶ ἐκδικεῖς. It has been argued again from this, that the temper of the Martyrs' souls is less than Christian. But however right it may be to contrast 2 Chr. xxiv. 22 with Acts vii. 60, no one can surely imagine that the spirit of this passage is a selfish desire for personal vengeance. As we meet with the germ of the thought in Ps. xciv. 3, so we have a developement of it, substantially identical with this, from the mouth of Christ Himself, Luke xviii. 2—8. Faith looks on evil with a hatred like God's own—shares God's will that it shall not triumph and trusts in God that it will not: but without sharing the depth of God's counsels, Who knows best how and when to overthrow it. Therefore the Church on earth (the probable meaning of the Widow) and the Saints in heaven cry alike to God to execute His own purpose, and bring the reign of evil to an end: and He does not yet, but He surely will.

11. ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς ἑκάστῳ στολὴ λευκή. The singular *στολὴ* and the emphatic though irregular apposition *αὐτοῖς ἑκάστῳ* bring out more fully than the old text, that the white robe is an individual, not a common blessing. It serves to mark them both as *innocent* and as *conquerors*: what it *is* is better felt than said. We see that the "souls" appeared in some visible form, like enough to bodies to wear garments: one of the considerations against regarding them as abstractions, not personal beings. There can hardly be any doubt that this verse (cf. iii. 4, 5) represents a portion of the reward given by God to His Saints, and if so, evidently such a portion of their reward as they receive in the interval before the Judgement. In *Ascensio Isaiae* ix. 7—18 there is a close and curious parallel. Isaiah in the seventh heaven sees all the righteous from the days of Adam, holy Abel and all the righteous, Enoch and all his company already stripped of the garment of flesh and arrayed in the garment of heaven (plainly the spiritual body). These see their thrones but do not sit on them, and their crowns but do not wear them. The angel tells Isaiah they have to wait for the Incarnation and Ascension, when the Lord will bring many other righteous with Him who have not received their garments yet; then these too shall receive garments, crowns, and thrones. But whether all the elect are in the same position as the Martyrs, or whether we have here described a special privilege granted to them only, is more doubtful; the prevalent belief of Christendom has been, that Martyrs and the like more excellent Saints have, in this intermediate state, a privilege above all the other justified ones.

ἐρρέθη αὐτοῖς. From the nature of the case, their cry and the answer to it had to be heard by St John successively. But doubtless in fact they are contemporaneous: the Saints at once share God's desire for the triumph of righteousness over sin, and rest in God's assurance that it is for good reason that triumph is delayed.

ἵνα ἀναπαύσωνται. Almost as if they were bidden to "turn again to their rest" Ps. cxvi. 7. They were at rest already when God's judgements came abroad; then they cry out to Him to finish His work and cut it short in righteousness. This rest, if like the rest of the dead who die in the Lord xiv. 13, is more than the mere rest of the grave (Job iii. 17—19) and certainly does not imply that they are to be unconscious or as it were asleep.

ἔτι χρόνον μικρόν. Yet to Stephen and his companions it is not less than 1850 years: and though the Old Testament Martyrs be not exclusively meant, they are no doubt included. But notice that it is contemplated that there will be an interval between the Martyrs of the Primitive Church and those of the last days.

πληρώσωσιν. If the reading be right, we must supply after "should have fulfilled" 'their course' (Acts xiii. 25), or 'their work,' or 'their number,' as St Hippolytus quotes this passage in the fourth book of his commentary on Daniel.

καὶ οἱ σύνδουλοι αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτῶν. It would be possible to construe the words "*both* their fellowservants and their brethren," as though two classes were spoken of. In xix. 10, xxii. 9, where we get the same words coupled, though in another construction, it may be thought that St John is called a brother of Martyrs and Prophets in a special sense. It would therefore be possible to distinguish the two classes, "their fellowservants (viz. all their true fellow-believers), and their brethren which should be killed as they were." But it is much simpler to translate as the A.V., making both nouns antecedents to the clause that follows.

ὡς καὶ αὐτοί is a shade more emphatic than *ὡς αὐτοί* would have been. Both terms in the comparison are to correspond exactly. The Martyrs of the last days are to be like those of the first, Martyrs in the strictest sense—Christians slain because they hold the Christian faith, and will not renounce it. Such Martyrs there have been, no doubt, in the interval between the great ages of persecution under the Roman emperors and under Antichrist, e.g. in the Mohammedan conquests, in the age of the conversion of central Europe, in Japan in the seventeenth century, and in Madagascar, China, New Zealand, and Zululand in our own time. It is likely enough also that martyrs to charity—men like St Telemachus and St Philip of Moscow, Abp Affré and Bp Patteson—have their portion with the perfect martyrs to faith: in some cases, as in the last, it is hard to draw a line between the two: any way, those who suffer for righteousness sake suffer for Christ, as St Anselm said when Lanfranc wished to deny the honours of a martyr to St Alphege. But to suffer for conscience

sake, however noble, is not necessarily quite the same thing: and it is hardly right to claim the name of martyr for the victims—certainly not for the victims on one side only—in the fratricidal contests of Christians. "The Lord knoweth them that are His"; He knows whether Becket or Huss, More or Latimer, Charles I. or Margaret Wilson, had most of the Martyr's spirit: we had better not anticipate His judgement whether any or all of them are worthy of the Martyr's white robe.

12—17. The Sixth Seal.

12. σεισμὸς μέγας. Earthquakes follow wars and famines, in Matt. xxiv. 7, as the *earlier* signs of the approach of Christ's Coming. But here it is coupled with the darkening of the sun and fall of the stars which, ibid. 29, precede His Coming *immediately*: whence Alford says, that here it is more than the earth that quakes—that it is a fulfilment of Hag. ii. 6, 7, cf. Heb. xii. 26 sqq.

μέλας ὡς σάκκος. Is. l. 3 *ἐνδύσω τὸν οὐρανὸν σκότος καὶ ὡς σάκκον θήσω τὸ περιβόλαιον αὐτοῦ.*

ἡ σελήνη ὅλη ἐγένετο. The moon wholly became, or, perhaps the whole [i.e. full] moon became.

ὡς αἷμα. From Joel ii. 31 *ὁ ἥλιος μεταστραφήσεται εἰς σκότος καὶ ἡ σελήνη εἰς αἷμα.* The image, no doubt, is suggested by the phenomena of natural total eclipses, when the sun disappears entirely, but the moon, though ceasing to be luminous, does not in general become invisible, but assumes a dull reddish colour. Perhaps the "blood and fire and pillars of smoke" of the preceding verse of Joel stand in similar relations to the natural phenomena of the aurora borealis. We are told of "signs in the Heaven" before the fall of Jerusalem which, if natural, must be assigned to this last cause, and in any case may be regarded as partial fulfilments of these prophecies, and types of their final fulfilment. See Jos. *B. J.* vi. v. 3; Tac. *Hist.* v. xiii. 1.

13. οἱ ἀστέρες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. Here we return to the Prophecy of the Mount of Olives, Matt. xxiv. 29.

ὡς συκῆ. It is curious that a "parable of the fig-tree" follows in Matt. xxiv. 32, immediately after the "fall of the stars." But this image is taken, not from our Lord's prophecy l.c., but from Is. xxxiv. 4 (the Hebrew, not LXX.). The *ὄλυνθος* "untimely fig" (whence *Bethphage*) is the fig which, having formed too late to ripen in the autumn, hangs through the winter, but almost always drops off before the sap begins to rise in spring, so as not to come to maturity. See Comm. on Matt. xxi. 19 and parallels.

14. ἀπεχωρίσθη. A.V. *departed*, i.e. parted asunder. The verb *depart* was so used (only in a transitive sense) in the Marriage Service until the last revision of the Prayer Book, "till death us depart," i.e. "till death part us." Here we still have a reference to Is. xxxiv. 4. The word for "scroll" is the same as that rendered "book" in c. v. &c.

πᾶν ὄρος καὶ νῆσος. Cf. xvi. 20. There the convulsion is greater than here: and even there it does not imply quite so much as xx. 11—a fact to be remembered in the interpretation of this passage.

15. χιλίαρχοι. The word means lit. "captains of thousands," and was in St John's time the recognised equivalent (as e.g. Acts xxi. 31, &c.) for the *tribunus* of the Roman army. Probably St John is thinking of Is. iii. 2, 3.

εἰς τὰ σπήλαια. Is. ii. 19, 21.

16. καὶ λέγουσιν. The present after ἔκρυψαν suggests that ἔκρυψαν like *καὶ ἐτελέσθη* x. 7 is an Hebraistic equivalent to the future.

τοῖς ὄρεσιν. Hos. x. 8: adopted by our Lord, Luke xxiii. 30. In that passage, it is entirely natural to understand Him to refer to the destruction of Jerusalem *only*: and therefore, though we are not meant to suppose that everything revealed further on in the Book comes between the Sixth Seal and the End, it does not seem necessary to understand this vision as implying that the *Last* Judgement is immediately to come. A judgement of the Lord has now been prepared for, by all the signs that He foretold of it: His disciples, no doubt, will "look up and lift up their heads," while the world which does not "love His appearing" is terrified. And we see in the next chapter that the faith of those is not unrewarded: but the dread of these is not immediately realised. In fact, the last "Day of the Lord" will come "when they shall say, 'Peace and safety'" (1 Thess. v. 3) –not therefore, apparently, preceded by terrors like those among the ungodly, but rather by an unbelief (not so uncommon now) that has outlived such alarms, and asks, "Where is the promise of His Coming? for since the fathers fell asleep, all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation."

ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ καθημένου. All judgement is committed to the Son, John v. 22, but this does not exclude the special presence and Revelation of the Father in the final manifestation of the Divine Righteousness. See Matt. xvi. 27 and parallels, which are to be taken into account in the interpretation of Tit. ii. 13, and of chap. xxii. in this Book.

ἀπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς τοῦ ἀρνίου. It is scarcely necessary to point out the paradoxical character of the words and their deep significance. The phrase is unique; if *αὐτοῦ* be read in the next verse it cannot refer, as it would in ordinary Greek, to *τοῦ ἀρνίου*. The great day of His wrath is something familiar and known.

17. ἦλθεν ἡ ἡμέρα ἡ μεγάλη. So the world has thought in every great social convulsion, since they have learnt so far to believe the Gospel, as to confess that such a day is coming. The thought has led men to repentance or to despair, as they were worthy of one or other: but, since the world has so often thought wrongly that the Day has come, it does not follow that, when this Book tells us that the world thinks it has come, we must suppose the world to be right.

τίς δύναται σταθῆναι; Cf. Mal. iii. 2.

CHAPTER VII.

1. ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, μήτε ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης, μήτε ἐπὶ πᾶν δένδρον with ℵP 1. A reads *μήτε ἐπὶ θαλάσσης μήτε ἐπὶ δένδρου*; Naber proposes to read *μήτε ἐπ. θαλ. μήτε ἐπὶ ἀνύδρου*, which would be plausible but for the fact that *ἄνυδρος* (Job xxx. 3, Is. xxxv. 7, xli. 19, Matt. xii. 43) means not 'dry land' but 'wilderness': hence if *δένδρου* be a corruption of *ἄνυδρου*, the latter must be a gloss on *ξηρᾶς* due to a conflation older than all versions of *ἐπὶ θαλ....ἐπὶ ξηρᾶς* (cf. Matt. xxii. 15) and *ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς...ἐπὶ τῆς θαλ.*; Lach. and Treg. and Weiss. read *ἐπί τι* with B_2C against the general style of this Book.

5. δώδεκα χιλιάδες ἐσφραγισμένοι. The uncials repeat *ἐσφρ.* at the beginning and end. Primas. only has it at the beginning, aeth. only at end; 1 in the first three places and the last; Text. Rec. everywhere with Vg. and arm.

Γάδ. ℵ omits this tribe; several cursives seem to have turned it into **Δάν.** 1 has *δᾶδ* (=*Δανείδ*).

6. Μανασσῆ. If written *Μαν.* this might be a corruption of **Δάν.** Origen remarks on the omission of Dan; so the Coptic version, which has Dan instead of Manasse, cannot have preserved a continuous tradition.

7. Συμεών. ℵ omits this tribe, cf. Deut. xxxiii. 6, 7.

9. καὶ ἰδού. A and Latins omit these words; C omits *ἰδού*.

ὄχλος πολύς. A and Latins read *ὄχλον πολύν*; Methodius reads *καὶ εἶδον ἀπὸ πάσης γλώττης καὶ φυλῆς καὶ παντὸς ἔθνους πλῆθος πολύ, ὃ ἀριθμῆσαι αὐτὸ οὐδεὶς ἠδύνατο.*

ἑστῶτες with ℵAP; *ἑστῶτας* B_2, *ἑστώτων* C.

περιβεβλημένους. Text. Rec. reads *περιβεβλημένοι* with ℵ^{c}P 1 and Latins.

φοίνικες. Tisch. reads *φοινικας* with ℵ*B_2.

10. τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν. A reads *τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν.*

τῷ ἀρνίῳ. ℵ^c reads *τοῦ ἀρνίου*; *τῷ καθημένῳ* is omitted by ℵ*; 1 has *τῷ καθ. ἐπὶ τ. θρ. θεῷ ἡμῶν.* Were the two oldest readings *τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ ἀρνίου*, and *τῷ καθ. ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ καὶ τῷ ἀρνίῳ*?

14. κύριέ μου. Text. Rec. omits *μου* with A 1.

ἔπλυναν τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν καὶ ἐλεύκαναν αὐτάς. Primas. omits *ἔπλυναν* (*stolas suas candidas fecerunt*); B_2 omits *αὐτάς*.

17. ζωῆς. Text. Rec. *ζώσας* with 1.

The two Visions in this Chapter, 1—8, 9—17, each introduced by the same phrase "After this," seem to belong (the former perhaps does belong) to the interval between the openings of the Sixth Seal and the Seventh, and so to extend this interval very considerably beyond the others. Both are really episodical.

Ch. VII. 1—3.

The Vision of the Four Angels of the Four Winds.

1. τέσσαρας ἀγγέλους. Presumably the Angels of the four winds, as we have other elemental Angels in xiv. 18, xvi. 5. Cf. Ps. civ. (ciii.) 4, *ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα.*

ἐπὶ τὰς τέσσαρας γωνίας τῆς γῆς. Probably the four cardinal points, the extreme north, south, east, and west of it. It is hardly likely that the "four winds of the earth" should be conceived as NE., SW., SE., and NW.: in the climate of the Levant, there would not be as much physical truth in such a classification as in our own, and the usage of nomenclature, in Greek and still more in Hebrew, proves that the four winds are N., E., S., W. We therefore cannot argue from the "four corners" that St John conceives the earth is a rectangle—for it would be most unnatural to conceive it as set *corner-wise:* in Jer. xlix. 36 the four winds blow from the four *ἄκρα* of heaven. But it appears that the machinery, so to speak, throughout the vision does imply that the earth is conceived as a plane. St John is in Heaven, and is able to look down (or even to go down) to the earth, which he sees spread beneath him like a map, from Euphrates to Rome and very likely further. We have somewhat similar language in Enoch xviii. 2, 3, *καὶ τὸν λίθον ἴδον τῆς γωνίας τῆς γῆς· ἴδον τοὺς τεσσάρους ἀνέμους τὴν γῆν βαστάζοντας καὶ τὸ στερέωμα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.* But St John does not, like Pseudo-Enoch, put forward his imagery as absolute physical truth.

ἵνα μὴ πνέῃ ἄνεμος. Every one will remember Keble's beautiful illustration of this image, by the natural phenomenon of the "All Saints' Summer." But the next *v.* shews that it is by the Angels' action that the winds blow, as well as that they are restrained from blowing: we are not to conceive the winds (as in *Od.* x., *Aen.* i.) as wild expansive forces, that will blow if not mechanically confined.

2. ἀναβαίνοντα. Probably the Heaven from which St John looks down on the earth formed a vault over it, or at least rested on walls surrounding the earth; cf. Enoch xviii. 5, *ἴδον πέρατα τῆς γῆς τὸ στήριγμα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.* This Angel, then, mounted up the eastern side of this vault or circling wall (probably flying up, just outside it), till he was high enough to see and to be heard by all the four Angels, even the one on the extreme western side of the earth.

ἔχοντα σφραγῖδα. Perhaps this marks this Angel as one specially favoured and trusted: see Gen. xli. 42; Esth. iii. 10, viii. 2. But there seems no good reason for the notion, popular in modern times, that this Angel, or any other, is to be taken as representative of Christ. He appears, when He does appear, either in His own person, or under a symbol that is obviously symbolic: it would be out of harmony with the scope of this Book, and indeed with New Testament theology generally, to obscure the distinction between Him and created Angels. The words "our God" in the next *v.* mark this Angel as a fellow-servant both of the other four, and of the elect on earth. It is far better to illustrate this vision by Matt.

xxiv. 31, as we have seen the earlier images of that chapter reproduced under the former seals. This Angel's office, however, is the marking, not the gathering of the elect; he represents and effectuates God's love in its individual, not in its comprehensive aspect.

οἷς ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς. Cf. iii. 8.

ἀδικῆσαι, by loosing the four winds—for something far beyond common storms. No parallel is yet known to this sign of the end: "the Great Tribulation" certainly begins when the four winds are loosed.

3. ἄχρι σφραγίσωμεν. The object of the sealing is twofold: (1) to mark them as God's own, beyond the risk of loss; we may almost certainly infer, from this chapter compared with xiv. 1, that the inscription of the seal is the Name of God and of the Lamb; and (2) to mark them as to be saved from the judgements that the other angels are to execute upon the world. Hence we are to compare this sealing, on the one hand with the mark (a less careful and indelible one than here—a cross marked with ink, not a name stamped with a seal) set on the protesting remnant in Ezek. ix. 4, 6 (R.V.): on the other hand, with 2 Tim. ii. 19; Eph. i. 13, iv. 30. It is scarcely likely indeed that St John refers consciously to these passages in St Paul, but it is likely that the image of the seal was the common property of the Apostolic Church; *ἡ σφραγίς* was certainly an early name for Baptism, e.g. Hermas Sim. ix. 16 *ἡ σφραγὶς οὖν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐστίν*, and *passim*; later it was applied especially to that part of the rite, which, when detached from Baptism, was known in the West as Confirmation.

4—8. The Sealing of the 144,000.

4. ἑκατὸν τεσσεράκοντα τέσσαρες χιλιάδες. As there are twelve tribes, so in each tribe there are to be twelve thousands: possibly with a reminiscence of the primitive political and military organisation, when a "thousand" was a recognised subdivision of a tribe. See Judges vi. 15; Mic. v. 2. Any way, we are probably to understand that each portion of Israel is a miniature likeness of the whole.

ἐκ πάσης φυλῆς υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ. It is one of the most controverted of the minor questions of interpretation of this Book, whether Israel is here to be understood in the literal or the spiritual sense. This vision of a certain number of Israelites, and the next of an innumerable multitude of all nations, are certainly correlative to each other: and the most obvious way of understanding them is, that among God's elect there will be many faithful Israelites, and yet few comparatively to the number of faithful Gentiles. It certainly seems as if the 144,000 are to be preserved from "the great tribulation" and the great multitude converted by enduring it. Others however understand these 144,000, and the innumerable multitude of *v.* 9, to represent the same persons regarded in two different aspects. To God they are all His own people, all duly numbered and organised and marshalled as His army, and everyone known to Him by name: on the other hand, from a human point of view

they belong to all nations, and are too many to be counted. Lastly, in xiv. 1 we hear of a company of 144,000 whom (not from their number only) it is natural to identify with these: and it appears that those represent, not the whole multitude of the elect, but a group specially faithful and specially favoured, even among them. It seems worth asking, whether the true solution be not a combination of the first and last, whether we are to understand that Christ's nearest and dearest ones still come from God's old people, who are still "beloved for the fathers' sake," though they attain such nearness to Him, not by virtue of their descent, but by graces of the same kind as sanctify Gentile saints also.

5—8. ἐσφραγισμένοι. It is a question whether there is any principle in the order of the names. Judah is no doubt named first, as the tribe of David and of the Son of David: then Reuben as the eldest son of Israel, while Joseph and Benjamin, the two youngest, come last. Gad and Asher, Simeon and Levi, Issachar and Zebulun are also mentioned in pairs, according to their parentage and the order of their births: but the pairs themselves are not grouped either in order of age or of the dignity of the mother. It is curious, and has never been really satisfactorily accounted for, that while we have *Joseph* given under that name, instead of *Ephraim*, we have Manasseh mentioned coordinately as one of the twelve tribes: room being made for him, not as in many O.T. enumerations, by the omission of Levi, who had no part nor inheritance with his brethren, but by the omission of Dan, about which copyists evidently hesitated. (In Ezek. xlviii. 3, 4 Asher, Naphtali, Manasseh, succeed each other as here.) Num. xiii. 11 is some sort of analogy for the name of Joseph being appropriated to one of the two tribes descended from him: for the omission of Dan, the nearest analogy is the omission of Simeon in the blessing of Moses, Deut. xxxiii. The traditional view is, that Dan is omitted because Antichrist will come of that tribe: but the grounds for that opinion are very slight; it rests mainly on this omission itself, for no one would naturally understand Gen. xlix. 17 as implying that Dan would be an evil power. Others have suggested that Dan is omitted because they early fell into idolatry (Jud. xviii.); but all Israel fell into worse idolatry, sooner or later: others again imagine that this tribe had been long extinct, because it is omitted in the enumeration of the tribes in the early chapters of Chronicles: but Zebulun is also omitted there, though both tribes were powerful in David's time, 1 Chr. xii. 33, 35. The case is not quite parallel where, in xxi. 12, 14, we have only room for the names of twelve tribes and twelve apostles: it will follow from Ezek. xlviii. 31—34 that Dan *is* there included, and that Joseph only counts as one: and though either the name of St Paul or St Matthias (probably the former) must be omitted to keep the number of the apostles down to twelve, yet the omission is not pointed or express. We have no occasion to ask there why St Paul is omitted, while here we cannot help asking why Dan is; probably there is a reason, but we had better confess we do not know it.

9—17. The Praise of the Great Multitude of the Redeemed.

9. μετὰ ταῦτα. The "great tribulation" itself is designedly not shown in the vision: "of that day and that hour knoweth no man, no not the angels in heaven." It is not too much to say that the description of the terrors which herald its approach taxes human powers to their limits; it was the most the Seer or the Church could receive, more would have weakened the impression. Instead of describing a picture of the Great Tribulation we have the pause, in which the inner circle of the elect is sealed for safety, and the world forgets its fears; and then comes a glimpse of the bliss without end.

ὃν ἀριθμῆσαι αὐτόν. iii. 8.

ἐκ παντὸς ἔθνους καὶ φυλῶν καὶ λαῶν καὶ γλωσσῶν. Cf. v. 9 n.

ἑστῶτες is of course in apposition to *ὄχλος πολύς*, though supported by documents which read *ὄχλον πολύν*.

περιβεβλημένους is in apposition to the imaginary *ὄχλον* which might have been dependent on *εἶδον*: so is *φοίνικας*, if we take the accusative with Tischendorf.

στολὰς λευκάς. Cf. iii. 5, vi. 11.

φοίνικες. Opinions differ as to the meaning of this image, whether we are to compare the Pagan use of the palm-branch as a symbol of victory, given e.g. to winners at the public games; or the Israelite custom of bearing branches of palm, as of other sacred trees, at the Feast of Tabernacles: see Lev. xxiii. 40, and cf. St John xii. 13. The palm-branch occurs frequently on the coins of the Herods; and the palm-tree on the Roman coins commemorating JUDAEA CAPTA (Madden's *Jewish Coinage*): and although Jewish rather than Gentile imagery is to be expected in this book, the former view seems on the whole more reasonable, as it gives a more obvious and a more appropriate meaning to the symbol.

10. ἡ σωτηρία. The word "salvation" has the article, so that perhaps the sense is, "The glory of *our* salvation belongs to Him." If not, we must remember that "salvation" is in the Bible a positive conception—not only being saved *from* some evil, but being placed in a state of positive blessedness: and these words will thus be a confession that such blessedness not only is of God, but belongs by right to God.

12. ἡ εὐλογία καὶ ἡ δόξα κ.τ.λ. The seven words of praise have each the article: see on chap. v. 13.

13. ἀπεκρίθη. Perhaps because his question is suggested by the wonder of the Seer. Cf. Matt. xi. 25; Deut. xxv. 9, in both of which passages it is easier to see the force of the word.

14. εἴρηκα. The perfect here is only less difficult than *εἴληφεν* v. 7 (where see note) because it stands alone.

Κύριέ μου. Cf. Dan. x. 16, 17; Zech. iv. 5, 13. In the latter place we have, as here, the heavenly interlocutor apparently assuming that the Seer ought to understand the vision without explanation.

σὺ οἶδας. Cf. Ezek. xxxvii. 3.

οἱ ἐρχόμενοι, "which come," i.e. which are to come, cf. *τὸ θηρίον τὸ ἀναβαῖνον*, xi. 7.

τῆς θλίψεως τῆς μεγάλης: the article is strongly emphasised. It probably means "*the* great tribulation foretold by the Lord," St Matt. xxiv. 21: cf. Dan. xii. 1. For a similar use of the art. cf. ch. i. 7, "*the* clouds."

ἐλεύκαναν αὐτὰς ἐν τῷ αἵματι. A paradox something like that of vi. 16 fin. For the image, cf. perhaps i. 5 (but see note): certainly xxii. 14 (true text), and probably St John 1 Ep. i. 7. Heb. ix. 14, which is sometimes quoted, is less closely parallel: there the image seems to be taken from ritual rather than physical cleansing. Tert. *Scorp.* xii. has a curious view that the washing corresponds to baptism, and the making white to martyrdom.

15. ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου. Perhaps in a more favoured position than is given to *all*, even among Saints: as we have similar language about the most favoured Angels, Matt. xviii. 10; Luke i. 19.

λατρεύουσιν αὐτῷ. The sense would be clearer if the word were rendered "worship": it does not mean that they have active work to do for Him, but that they do what is the appropriate service of His Temple, though it is to be remembered that the service of the earthly Temple was arranged to represent the service of the Palace of an invisible King: His lamps were lit, His table spread, and the like.

σκηνώσει ἐπ' αὐτούς. Lit. "shall tabernacle over them": in xxi. 3 the verb is the same, but there the construction is *μετ' αὐτῶν*. The word is used in the N.T., and in Hellenistic writers generally, to express the dwelling of the Divine Presence in any of its manifestations: see esp. St John's Gospel, i. 14. The word *σκηνὴ* was the more readily used in this sense because of its assonance with the late Hebrew word *Shĕchînêh* for "the cloud of glory shadowing the Mercy-seat." Here perhaps the thought is rather of that manifestation of God's Presence than of the fuller and later Presence in the Incarnation.

16, 17. Taken from Is. xlix. 10. We have again the solemn paradox, that the Lamb is Shepherd (of course we are reminded of St John x., but we ought to remember Ps. xxiii. as well, and its many O.T. imitations, including Is. l.c., in all of which the Shepherd is the Lord God of Israel), and the men are His flock—cf. Ezek. xxxiv. 31, xxxvi. 37, 38.

τὸ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ θρόνου. See on v. 6.

ζωῆς πηγὰς ὑδάτων. The order of the words is very strange even for this Book. The slight change in the Textus Receptus enabled

A.V. to preserve the order of the words, which is perhaps more important than the construction preserved in R.V., "fountains of waters of life," cf. xxii. 1.

ἐξαλείψει ὁ θεός. From Is. xxv. 8.

CHAPTER VIII.

1. ὅταν. With AC; Text. Rec. reads *ὅτε* with all other documents.

3. ἐπὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου. Lachmann and Text. Rec. read *ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον* with AP 1; Primas. reads *super altarium dei* here, and below *ad aram dei auream* for *ἐπὶ τὸ θ. τὸ χρυσοῦν*: and in *v.* 5 *ex igni arae dei* for *ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου*. The same abbreviation could be read *θεοῦ* and *θυσιαστηρίου*, which may explain the conflation in the Old Latin Text.

θυμιάματα. Primas. reads *supplicamenta.*

4. θυμιαμάτων ταῖς προσευχαῖς. Primas. reads *supplicationum orationum.*

5. βρονταὶ καὶ φωναὶ καὶ ἀστραπαί. With ℵB_2. Text. Rec. reads *φωναὶ καὶ βρ. καὶ ἀστ.*; A cop. syr. read *βρ. καὶ ἀστ. καὶ φωναί.*

7. ὁ πρῶτος. Text. Rec. adds *ἄγγελος* with 1 and almost all Latins and other Versions.

μεμιγμένα. With AB_2. Tisch. reads *μεμιγμένον* with ℵP.

καὶ τὸ τρίτον τῆς γῆς κατεκάη. Text. Rec. omits with 1 cop.

9. τὸ τρίτον (pr.). ℵ adds *μέρος*, the Latins everywhere have *tertia pars.*

τῶν κτισμάτων τῶν ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, τὰ ἔχ. ψυχάς. Primas. reads *piscium*, but quotes from Tyc. *habentium animas.* Cod. flor. reads *animalium quae erat in mari.*

10. καὶ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὸ τρίτον. Primas. cod. flor. omit *καὶ ἔπεσεν.*

καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς τῶν ὑδάτων. These words are omitted by A.

12. ἵνα σκοτισθῇ...ὁμοίως. Primas. cod. flor. read *ut minus lucerent* (cod. flor. *ita ut tertia pars eorum obscuraretur*) *et dies eandem partem amitteret et nox similiter.* Tyc. read *ut obscuraretur et appareret;* B_2 reads *καὶ τὸ τρίτον αὐτῆς μὴ φάνῃ ἡμέρα.*

13. ἀετοῦ. Text. Rec. reads *ἀγγέλου* with P 1 arm.

ἐν μεσουρανήματι. Syr. reads *in medio caudae cui est sanguis*, and at xiv. 6 *in caelo cum sanguine.*

τοὺς κατοικοῦντας. Text. Rec. and Lachmann read *τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν* with AP 1.

Ch. VIII. 1 (3—6). The Seventh Seal.

If, as some suppose, the Vision of the Angel with the Golden Censer is rather an introduction to the Vision of the Seven Trumpets than the close of the Vision of the Seven Seals, it would be matter for regret that *v.* 1 is joined with this chapter rather than with the

preceding, as the blowing of the Seven Trumpets can hardly be regarded in any case as the sign which follows the opening of the Seal. Supposing that the Book with Seven Seals is rightly thought to contain the whole secret of the Divine Providence, it is no doubt at this point of the Vision that the Book is read: for it has certainly been read in Heaven when the little book not sealed but open (x. 2) is sent down to the Seer on earth. Whether or no we are to emphasise the contrast between *βιβλίον* and *βιβλαρίδιον*, the latter may very well contain all that was to be revealed through the Seer. And after the opening of the Sixth Seal, when terror has been carried to the height, everything is arranged to deepen the impression of suspense and awestruck hope, till the fire from the Heavenly Altar is cast down to earth as a sign that the earthly fulfilment of what has been shown in Vision in Heaven is about to begin.

ὅταν. It has been suggested that as no definite sign such as followed the opening of the other Seals follows the opening of the Seventh, the Seer was as it were uncertain of the precise moment of the opening and so writes *ὅταν* rather than *ὅτε*.

ἐγένετο σιγή. All the promised signs of Christ's Coming have been fulfilled—everything has, apparently, been made ready for it: and we expect Him to come, and the world to come to an end: but the series of signs concludes—not with a catastrophe but—in silence. The same is the case, though less markedly, after the Seventh Trumpet in ch. xi. 15; and in fact, similar cases occur throughout the Book. We have the choice between three explanations of this phenomenon. (I.) The preceding series of visions does describe the events leading up to Christ's Coming: when they are ended, He does come, but His Coming itself is not described. Here, it is passed over in silence, or only symbolised by the opening of the seventh seal: the half-hour's silence is, as St Victorinus grandly says, "*initium quietis aeternae*." (II.) The previous series of visions describes events preparatory, indeed, to Christ's Coming, but not leading directly up to it: the events symbolised by these visions *have* been fulfilled, but those of the rest of the Book must be fulfilled also, before He really comes. (III.) These visions represent, *on a smaller scale*, the preparations for Christ's final Coming and Judgement: but they do not wait for their fulfilment till then, but have their proportionate fulfilment in any anticipatory judgement which He executes on one nation or generation. The similar series of visions which follow are therefore not parallel with this, but successive: again and again God executes His Judgements, foreshadowing the last Judgement of all, and leading men to expect it: and at last He will execute that also. The last view is the one generally taken in these notes: see Introduction, p. lv.

Ch. VIII. 2, 6—XI. 19. The Seven Trumpets.

2. οἱ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ ἑστήκασιν. *ἑστήκασιν* is in its natural place in ordinary Greek; in this Book we should expect to find it, if at all, before *ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ*: *οἱ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ* without construction would

be less surprising. The phrase is probably a designation of seven Angels (commonly, perhaps correctly, called Archangels) who permanently enjoy special nearness to God: "the Angels of the Presence." We have in Tobit xii. 15 an evidence of popular Jewish belief as to these Angels; St John's vision is expressed in terms of that belief, and, it may fairly be thought, sanctions it with his prophetic authority.

3—5. The Angel with the Golden Censer.

3. ἄλλος ἄγγελος. In Tobit l. c. it is the seven Angels themselves who present the prayers of the Saints before God: but, though the detail varies, the passages agree in assigning a priestly work to Angels on behalf of God's people on earth.

ἐπὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου. The golden altar of incense in the Tabernacle was only a cubit square and two cubits high (Ex. xxx. 2), and we have no reason to suppose that the analogous one either in the first or the second Temple was larger: perhaps we may gather from 2 Chr. v. 5 that the former had identically the same one. But the altar of burnt-offering was a large platform rather than what we commonly imagine an altar (see 1 Macc. i. 59, where the small Greek "idol altar" stands *on* the "altar of God" as its basement—it cannot be substituted for it): in the Tabernacle it was five cubits square, in Solomon's Temple 20, in Zerubbabel's probably the same, and in Herod's 50 according to Josephus, 32 according to the Mishna. In the Temple at any rate, the height of the altar was such that the officiating priests had to come up upon a ledge surrounding it (and such an ascent is contemplated in Ex. xx. 26). Probably here, though the Angel is offering incense not burnt-offering, the Altar where he officiates is conceived as rather of the larger type: see on vi. 9. It is certainly superfluous to suppose that the Vision is accommodated to the Jewish ritual, in which the priest took fire from the altar of burnt-offering to light his incense on the golden altar.

λιβανωτὸν must mean "censer" here, though the Greek word properly means "incense."

δώσει ταῖς προσευχαῖς. Literally, "give it to the prayers"; and if the literal translation requires a gloss, that of the A.V. can hardly be the right one. The sense is not absolutely clear, this is the one place in this Book where the dative does not mark a personal or personified recipient. It would hardly be stranger if it were by the prayers of the saints that the Angel offered incense here, and that the incense went up, as in next verse. Apparently the image is, that the prayers of the saints are already lying on the Altar, and the Angel, in modern liturgical phrase, "censes the holy things." Thus disappears the supposed theological necessity for identifying this Angel with the Lord Jesus: "the prayers of all saints" are presented by Him and by no one else, as is implied in v. 8, 9, where the incense *is* the prayers of the saints, not something added to them. But here the Angels offer their own worship, as it is "given to them," in union, perhaps in subordination, to those of the redeemed. The prayers

here spoken of are those of *all* saints, not of the Martyrs exclusively: still, it is well to notice that the Altar where *we* offer our prayers is apparently the same where *they* poured out their lives, vi. 9.

4. ἀνέβη...ταῖς προσευχαῖς. The dative here again is quite unlike any other in this Book. The only question therefore as to the sense is, whether we are to understand the words as the goal of the local motion of the smoke, "went up to the prayers," or as the object of its intent, "went up for the prayers": the latter seems better. "The smoke of the incense went up before God out of the Angel's hand, for the prayers of the Saints," i.e. to consecrate and ratify them, to unite *all* His spiritual creation in the same supplication, which when thus united must prevail.

ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ. As is well known, these words are immediately followed in C by *ἡμέρας χιλίας διακοσίας ἑξήκοντα*, the copyist having mismatched some leaves of his original and gone on to xi. 3. Of course he did not invent the admirable system of punctuation and paragraphs which he reproduced. It is possible that he may have failed to notice that *ἐν. τοῦ θεοῦ* ended a paragraph, as we should expect, or at any rate was followed by a stop. It is also possible that he found the 1260 days in his original in both places if, as seems probable, the vision of the incense on the heavenly Altar was shewn to the Seer in preparation for the profanation of the earthly altar at Jerusalem which had long been foretold, Dan. viii. 11; xi. 31; xii. 11, and was soon to be fulfilled more completely than in the days of the Maccabees.

5. εἴληφεν. See on v. 7 for tense. As the Angel has the censer already we cannot refer to the common formula of the LXX. e.g. Lev. viii. 2, *λάβε Ἀαρὼν καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς στολὰς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἔλαιον τῆς χρίσεως καὶ τὸν μόσχον τὸν περὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας, καὶ τοὺς δύο κριούς, καὶ τὸ κανοῦν τῶν ἀζύμων*, and it is a little difficult to suppose that the censer is laid down after the incense from it has been emptied upon the Altar.

ἔβαλεν. Probably cast the censer full of burning coals, but possibly only "scattered the fire," as Num. xvi. 37. The meaning must be, to represent the same instrument as obtaining God's mercy on His people, and executing His vengeance on His enemies: cf. Ezek. x. 2.

βρονταὶ καὶ φωναί. We have similar signs in xi. 19, xvi. 18, when the series of the Seven Trumpets and the Seven Vials respectively are ended: hence perhaps it is here rather than earlier that we are to look for the conclusion of the visions of the Seven Seals.

7. The First Trumpet.

7. χάλαζα καὶ πῦρ. Cf. Ex. ix. 24: but here the *blood* marks the plague as more terrible, and more distinctly miraculous. "The stones of hail and the balls of fire fell in a shower of blood, just as hail and fire balls commonly fall in a shower of rain." (Alford.)

τὸ τρίτον. It is certainly a feature to be noticed in the first Four Trumpets, as contrasted (see on vi. 9) with the last three, that they introduce plagues (i) on the powers of nature only, not on men, and

(ii) that on these the plague stops short of entire destruction. But no plausible explanation has been given of the destruction of a *third part* (cf. vi. 8: the limit of the *fourth* part is an illustration not an explanation which might *perhaps* be found in parallels like Ezek. v. 2; Zech. xiii. 8, 9).

πᾶς χόρτος χλωρός. In exceptional countries like England pastures are green all the year round: in countries like Syria they are green for a season: is it possible that the fiery hail lays waste a third of the earth, and that in the Vision that is the only third where green grass is in season?

8, 9. The Second Trumpet.

8. ὄρος μέγα πυρὶ καιόμενον. Cf. Jer. li. (xxviii.) 25 *ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ πρὸς σὲ τὸ ὄρος τὸ διεφθαρμένον τὸ διαφθείρον πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν, καὶ ἐκτενῶ τὴν χεῖρά μου ἐπὶ σὲ καὶ κατακυλιῶ σε ἐπὶ τῶν πετρῶν, καὶ δώσω σε ὡς ὄρος ἐμπεπυρισμένον*, which seems like a prediction that Babylon shall be dealt with as the mountain of destruction over against Jerusalem had been dealt with by Josiah. If that passage was in the Seer's mind, the image here might be compared with xviii. 21 sqq. though the parallel would not be exact. If we take this passage alone it is certainly natural to think of volcanic phenomena—rather of those of the Ægean than of those of Campania: the great eruption of Vesuvius would have suggested other images: though all volcanoes are near the sea, a torrent of lava would hardly be described as if the burning mountain itself fell into the sea.

ἐγένετο...αἷμα. This plague, like the last, recalls one of the plagues of Egypt, Ex. vii. 17 sqq.

9. τὰ ἔχοντα ψυχάς. Cf. ii. 20 n.; here it might be a question whether *τὰ ἔχ. ψυχὰς* is in apposition to *τὸ τρίτον* or *τῶν κτισμάτων*.

10, 11. The Third Trumpet.

10. ὡς λαμπάς. "Like a torch," with a flaring trail of fire. The same image is used of natural shooting stars, e.g. Verg. *Aen.* II. 694.

ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς τῶν ὑδάτων. Only the third part, as appears from the next verse.

11. ἐγένετο...εἰς ἄψινθον. We are perhaps to be reminded, as before, of the plagues in Egypt, so here of the mercy to Israel, Ex. xv. 25: here, as those are intensified, so that is reversed.

πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπέθανον. Of course such water would be unwholesome for ordinary use, though wormwood is not exactly poisonous. But it may be a question whether St John means the name to indicate the herb now known as wormwood, or another more deadly one: *poison* seems to be meant in Deut. xxix. 18; Jer. ix. 15, xxiii. 15. The root of the Hebrew word there rendered "wormwood" seems to mean "noxious."

12, 13. The Fourth Trumpet.

12. τὸ τρίτον τοῦ ἡλίου. Here we may think either of the Egyptian plague of darkness, Ex. x. 21 sqq., or of a *reversal* (as in the last case)

of the blessing of Is. xxx. 26. There, as here, there seems to be no distinction made between an increase, or decrease, in the *intensity* of light and in its *duration*.

ἵνα σκοτισθῇ. Lit. "that the third part of them may be darkened." But in ordinary Greek we should have the optative instead of the subjunctive mood, possibly the present instead of the aorist tense.

13. ἑνὸς ἀετοῦ. ἀγγέλου is no doubt a correct and very ancient gloss. Literally "one eagle." But apparently there was a tendency in late Hebrew for the numeral to sink, as in modern languages, into a mere indefinite article; and here, and perhaps in one or two other places, we seem to have it so used in the N.T.: e.g. Matt. viii. 19, xxvi. 69, and probably ix. 18.

ἐν μεσουρανήματι. "In mid-heaven." The compound occurs again in xiv. 6, xix. 17, and nowhere else in the N.T.: but in the later classical Greek it is not uncommon for the position of the sun at noonday. Yet the last of the places cited from this book, where all natural birds are said to fly "in mid-heaven," seems rather as if St John used it of the *air*, the space between earth and sky.

οὐαί, οὐαί, οὐαί. We see by ix. 12, xi. 14 that three *distinct* woes are meant, one for each of the Three Trumpets.

CHAPTER IX.

2. καὶ ἤνοιξεν...ἀβύσσου. These words are omitted by ℵB$_2$ vg. (am. harl. tol.) cop. arm. æth.

ἐκ τοῦ φρέατος ὡς καπνός. A omits ὡς, 1 omits all five words.

μεγάλης. B$_2$ syr. read *καιομένης*.

ἐκ τοῦ καπνοῦ τοῦ φρέατος καὶ. ℵ* omits these words.

3. αὐταῖς. With AP; ℵ has *αὐτοῖς* throughout and is supported here and in *v.* 4 by B$_2$, in *v.* 5 by A where Text. Rec. and W. H. (text) read *αὐταῖς* with B$_2$P.

5. βασανισθήσονται; Erasmus altered this into *βασανισθήσωνται*; Text. Rec. reads *βασανισθῶσι* with B$_2$.

7. ὅμοια. A reads *ὁμοιώματα*; ℵ *ὅμοιοι*.

10. ὁμοίας. ℵA read *ὁμοίοις*; W. H. propose *ὅμοια* as an adverb.

καὶ κέντρα καὶ. 1. 36 and vg. arm. æth. transpose the second *καὶ*, and begin a new clause with *καὶ ἡ ἐξουσία*; the later vg. and Text. Rec. read *καὶ κέντρα ἦν...καὶ ἡ ἐξ.*

ἡ ἐξουσία...ἀδικῆσαι. B$_2$ reads *ἐξουσίαν ἔχουσιν τοῦ ἀδικῆσαι*.

12. ἔρχεται. Text. Rec. reads *ἔρχονται* with B$_2$P 1.

ἔτι δύο. Cop. reads *δευτέρα*. St Jerome *alterum*, cod. flor. *secundum*.

13. μίαν ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων κεράτων. With B$_2$P; ℵ* omits these words. Primas. reads *unum ex quattuor cornibus aræ dei aureæ*, [Cyp.] (cf. Intr. p. lxxvii.) *unum ex quattuor angelis* (vel *angulis*) *aræ aureæ*.

14. λέγοντα. B_2 reads λέγοντος; Text. Rec. λέγουσαν with P 1.

16. τῶν στρατευμάτων. Primas. reads *militantium*=στρατευομένων.

δύο μυριάδες μυριάδων. With ℵ. Lach. Tisch. W. H. and Weiss read δισμυριάδες μυριάδων with AP 1*. Epiph. quotes ἤκουσα τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ στρατοῦ μυρίαι μυριάδες καὶ χίλιαι χιλιάδες; B_2 reads μυριάδες μυριάδων; Primas. reads *octoginta milia* (which points to an older reading δισμύριοι, cf. Ps. lxviii. 17, where LXX. translate τὸ ἅρμα τοῦ θεοῦ μυριοπλάσιον, as if each angel was over 20,000), and quotes Tyconius as reading *bis miriades miriadum* which is certainly wrong, for in his commentary Tyc. says *non dixit quot miriadum*. The reading of most editors might have been reached by combining two readings, one of which has only indirect Latin evidence.

17. ὑακινθίνους; Primas. and Tyc. read *spineas*=ἀκανθίνους.

18. Primas. omits the whole verse.

ἀπὸ τῶν τριῶν πληγῶν. Text. Rec. omits πληγῶν with 1; ℵ omits τριῶν.

19. καὶ ἐν ταῖς οὐραῖς αὐτῶν. Text. Rec. omits these words with 1 æth.

20. ἐκ τῶν ἔργων τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῶν. Primas. reads *factorum suorum malorum*=ἐκ τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν τῶν πονηρῶν.

21. πορνείας. ℵ*A read πονηρίας, see above.

Ch. IX. 1—12. The Fifth Trumpet. First Woe.

1. πεπτωκότα. "Fallen." St John does not say that he witnessed the actual fall.

ἐδόθη αὐτῷ. Clearly therefore the star is identified with a person: no doubt a "fallen angel," in the common sense of the term. For the identification of angels with stars, cf. i. 20, and Job xxxviii. 7: and of *fallen* angels in particular, Enoch xviii. 16, xxi. 3, &c. The fall of this star may legitimately be *illustrated*, as to the image by Is. xiv. 12, and as to the meaning by Luke x. 18, and xii. 9 in this book: but it is not to be assumed that this passage refers to the same event as either of the two last, still less that the first does.

τοῦ φρέατος τῆς ἀβύσσου. Lit. "of the pit (or "well") of the abyss": the depth of Hell, the home or penal prison of the demons (cf. Luke viii. 31 καὶ παρεκάλουν αὐτὸν ἵνα μὴ ἐπιτάξῃ αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον ἀπελθεῖν), is conceived as a pit in the earth's surface, no doubt literally bottomless, and probably more spacious than the shaft which gives access to it. This last, like the mouth of an earthly reservoir, can be fitted with a cover which is fastened down with a padlock or seal. Cf. xi. 7, xvii. 8, for the notion of evil beings issuing from the pit; xx. 1, 3, for their being confined there. But notice (i) that this pit is nowhere identified with the "lake of fire," the *final* destination of the Devil and his angels; (ii) that we are not told that the Devil himself is cast into it yet—rather the contrary is implied.

3. **ἐκ τοῦ καπνοῦ.** Cf. xvi. 2. One can hardly tell whether we are to understand that the smoke *turned into* locusts, or only that the locusts rose in the smoke, and dispersed from among it.

οἱ σκορπίοι τῆς γῆς, i.e. common natural scorpions: these infernal locusts are able to hurt men, as common scorpions are, but common locusts are not.

4. **ἵνα μὴ ἀδικήσωσιν,** i.e. *not* to do the damage that natural locusts do—these natural objects having been plagued already, viii. 7—but other damage, still more directly distressing the sinful world.

τὴν σφραγῖδα τοῦ θεοῦ. Cf. vii. 3 and note.

5. **μῆνας πέντε.** It has been conjectured that this period is named, as being the time for which a plague of the literal locusts is liable to last. But more probably the period is to be reckoned on the same principle—whatever that be—as the other periods of time indicated in this Book.

6. **φεύγει.** The present after the future is a little strange.

7. **ὅμοια ἵπποις.** See Joel ii. 4. Probably that passage is only a highly idealised description of a natural swarm of locusts, and the verse cited refers to the resemblance in shape of the locust's head, and perhaps the legs, to a horse's. It is doubtful whether the words *ἡτοιμασμένοις εἰς πόλεμον* suggest comparison between the frame of the locust and the plate-armour of a horse, see on *v.* 9: such armour was still confined to the East in St John's time. At any rate there is a reference here to the *discipline* of the locust host: as in Joel ii. 7, 8.

ὡς στέφανοι ὅμοιοι χρυσῷ. Lit. "as it were crowns like unto gold," perhaps a mere golden mark, such as it is quite possible a real insect might have.

τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν ὡς πρόσωπα ἀνθρώπων. *ἄνθρωποι* means, in classical Greek at least, "human beings," not necessarily males. But in Hellenistic Greek it is not infrequently used in opposition to women, and probably the next clause marks it so here. Both in this clause and in the next we have the choice of making the description purely supernatural or supposing that a deeper meaning is given to features of natural locusts which had struck the popular fancy.

8. **ὡς τρίχας γυναικῶν.** It is said that, in Arabic poetry, the same comparison is used of the antennæ of the natural locust: but more probably this is one of the supernatural features of the description.

ὡς λεόντων. Joel i. 6 *οἱ ὀδόντες αὐτοῦ ὀδόντες λέοντος καὶ αἱ μύλαι αὐτοῦ σκύμνου.*

9. **ὡς θώρακας σιδηροῦς.** This probably is an idealisation of the structure of the natural locust.

ὡς ἁρμάτων ἵππων πολλῶν. Lit. "as of many chariots of horses," Joel ii. 5.

11. **ἔχουσιν ἐπ' αὐτῶν βασιλέα.** Whereas "the (natural) locusts have no king," Prov. xxx. 27. In Amos vii. 1 the LXX. has the curious mistranslation or corrupt reading, *καὶ ἰδοὺ βροῦχος εἷς Γὼγ ὁ βασιλεύς*; which possibly arose from, or suggested, a superstition that St John uses as an image.

τὸν ἄγγελον τῆς ἀβύσσου. Either the fallen star of *v.* 1, who opened the pit and let them out of it; or a spirit—presumably, but hardly certainly, a bad one—made the guardian of that lowest deep of God's creation. See Excursus I.

Ἀβαδδών. St Jerome seems to have kept alive in Latin a reading Labaddon, which was supposed to represent the Hebrew more accurately. The word is properly an abstract noun "destruction," but used apparently in the sense of "Hell" in Job xxvi. 26, &c. Here it probably stands for Destroyer, like the Greek participle given as an equivalent.

12. **ἡ μία.** The first of the three denounced by the eagle, viii. 13. A decided majority of modern orthodox commentators understand this vision as foretelling the Mahometan conquests—some taking the fallen star of *v.* 1 of Mahomet himself. The last is scarcely credible—unless one should adopt the view,—not perhaps inconsistent with the facts of Mahomet's career, but hardly in harmony with the general order of Revelation—that he really had a divine commission, but perverted it to serve his selfish ambition. It seems almost certain that the "star" is an angel, strictly speaking: but the interpretation as a whole seems worthy of respect. Perhaps the Mahometan conquest is to be regarded as at least a partial fulfilment of this prophecy: but the attempts to shew that it is in detail an exact fulfilment have not been very successful. For instance, it cannot be said that the Mahometan conquest has done no hurt except to those who denied or profaned their baptism, see *sup. v.* 4.

13—21. The Sixth Trumpet. The Second Woe.

13. **φωνὴν μίαν.** See critical note. Lit. "one voice"; see on viii. 13. The word *τεσσάρων* just afterwards should probably be omitted: else "one voice from the four horns" would give the numeral a special meaning.

14. **λέγοντα.** If the reading be right, rather in irregular apposition to *φωνὴν* than a false concord.

ὁ ἔχων τὴν σάλπιγγα. Rightly taken by the versions as in apposition to *τῷ ἕκτῳ ἀγγέλῳ*; in another Book it would be safer to take it as a vocative, like *ὁ δεσπότης*, v. 10.

Λῦσον τοὺς τέσσαρας ἀγγέλους. We are reminded of the four angels of vii. 1, but it is hardly possible that they are the same as these. The plagues held back by them, on "the earth, the sea, and the trees," have come already, viii. 7—9: moreover, these angels do not stand "on the four corners of the earth," but in one not very remote part of it. No satisfactory explanation of their meaning has been given: nor can we be sure whether the name Euphrates is

to be taken literally. We hear of it again in xvi. 12, where the arguments for and against a literal interpretation seem almost equally balanced.

15. εἰς τὴν ὥραν, "for the hour." The article is not repeated, but plainly the one article belongs to all the nouns: they are "prepared for the hour, and day, and month, and year," when God has decreed to execute the vengeance here foretold.

16. τοῦ ἱππικοῦ. Not plural but collective, as we should say "the cavalry." Not that the Seer gives the number of one arm only of an army containing more: apparently this army consists of cavalry exclusively. The four angels seem to be its captains, and it is held in readiness with them to march when they are loosed to slay the third part of men. The Parthian cavalry was the most formidable barbarian force of St John's day: did the Parthian kings boast of the myriads of horsemen whom they could call out at a day appointed? Any way, if the Parthian cavalry suggested the image to St John's mind, we should have the explanation of the use of the name Euphrates. More than this we can hardly say as to the meaning of the Vision, and any partial fulfilment that it may have had or be about to have.

δύο μυριάδες μυριάδων. The number is perhaps suggested by Ps. lxviii. 17 (Primasius' text implies that in some ancient MSS. it had been reproduced literally, each angel had 20,000 horsemen, 80,000 in all): still it hardly seems as if these horsemen were celestial (like those of xix. 14), though they are not distinctly infernal like the locusts of the previous Vision.

17. ἔχοντας θώρακας. This must be understood of the riders chiefly, but perhaps not exclusively: comparing ver. 9 we cannot be sure that St John would not use the word "breastplate" of the defensive armour of a horse, if he had such in his mind. In fact, the word is used in later Greek of defensive armour generally, not the breastplate only.

πυρίνους καὶ ὑακινθίνους καὶ θειώδεις. As the last adjective only means "like brimstone," it is possible that the two former indicate colour rather than material, which is strictly implied in the terminations, the rather that fire and "jacinth" is a somewhat incongruous combination. Jacinth is the modern transliteration of *ὑάκινθος*, the classical transliteration of the oriental jacuth, the name of a class of stones to which the sapphire belongs, and this was the common ancient meaning of the word; but it was also applied to stones of the same kind and of different colours, red or orange. In the middle ages it became common to speak of red and blue "jacinths" as *rubei* or *sapphirei*, and then the epithets superseded the noun. Most "jacinths" were known as rubies or sapphires, and the original name was left for any stone of the least common and precious colour of the original "jacinth." Here the horsemen had breastplates of fiery red, of smoky blue, and of sulphurous yellow. Whether all had tricoloured armour, or whether

there were three divisions, each in a distinctive uniform, may be doubted: but the three plagues corresponding to these colours, which we hear of directly after, are almost certainly inflicted by the whole army alike: and this affords some presumption that the attire of each was symbolical of all three.

18. **ἀπὸ τῶν...ἐκ τοῦ....** The prepositions imply that the slaughter came of the plagues.

19. **ἡ γὰρ ἐξουσία τῶν ἵππων.** For the use of the word *ἐξουσία* (sometimes elsewhere translated "authority" or "licence"), cf. vi. 8, ix. 3. St Luke xxii. 53 illustrates the meaning of the word in such a context.

20. **ἐκ τῶν ἔργων τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῶν.** A common Old Testament formula both for idolatry, Jer. i. 16, and other sins, ib. xxv. 14.

ἵνα μὴ προσκυνήσουσιν. This verse gives us the only clue we have to the interpretation. It is a plague on *idolaters* that is here described —neither on unfaithful Christians, nor on antichristian infidels of a more refined type—unless the latter shall in the last days, as in the age of the Roman persecutions, and one may almost say of the Renaissance and Reformation, ally itself against the Gospel with the vulgar or sensuous idolatry which it was its natural tendency to despise.

21. **καὶ οὐ μετενόησαν.** Answers to *οὔτε μετενόησαν* above: *οἱ λοιποὶ* is of course the subject of both: though Andreas, treating ver. 19 as parenthetical, makes *οἱ λοιποὶ* the subject of *ἀπεκτάνθησαν*—the third part were killed and likewise the remnant who were spared for the time and repented not. This shews that even to an Asiatic Greek in later times the construction was strange.

φαρμακιῶν. Fitly mentioned between "murders" and "fornication," and in connexion with "idolatry"; cf. Gal. v. 20, and note on xxi. 8.

CHAPTER X.

1. **ἄλλον.** Griesb. omits with B_2 1.

2. **ἔχων.** Text. Rec. reads *εἶχεν* with 1 Latins cop. arm.

4. **ὅτε.** ℵ and Primas. read *ὅσα*.

σφράγισον. Primas. and Tyc. translate *nota tibi, signa tibi* = *σφράγισαι*.

5. **τὴν δεξιάν.** Text. Rec. omits with A 1 36 and vg.

6. **καὶ τὴν γῆν...καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ.** A omits all this; 1, 12 omit *καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ*; ℵ* Primas. arm. omit *καὶ τὴν θάλ. κ.τ.λ.*; cop. æth. read *τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς πάντα*.

7. **τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ δούλους τοὺς προφήτας.** Primas. and vg. read *per profetas servos suos, per servos suos prophetas* = *ἐν τοῖς δ. κ.τ.λ.*; Text. Rec. has datives without *ἐν* with 1.

8. **καὶ ἡ φωνὴ ἣν ἤκ....λαλοῦσαν...καὶ λέγουσαν.** Primas. reads *et audivi vocem...iterum loquentem;* Text. Rec. reads λαλοῦσα *καὶ* λέγουσα with 1 and And.

9. **ἀπῆλθον.** Lach. Tisch. W. H. read ἀπῆλθα with A.

10. **ἐπικράνθη.** ℵ* reads ἐγεμίσθη; the older text of Primas. *repletus est;* ℵ^c reads ἐγ....πικρίας. So one MS. of Primas. and Beatus *repletus est amaritudine.*

11. **λέγουσιν.** Text. Rec. reads λέγει with P 1, most Latins, and other versions.

καὶ ἔθνεσιν. B_2 reads *καὶ ἐπὶ ἔθν.*

Ch. X. The Angel with the Little Book.

1. We are not told yet, as we might expect, that "the Second Woe is past," nor does the Seventh Trumpet and the Third Woe immediately follow: but just as in ch. vii. the two descriptions of the sealed Israelites and the palm-bearing multitude came after the Sixth Seal, so here the vision of the mighty angel, and the prophecy (passing insensibly into a vision) of the Two Witnesses, follow the Sixth Trumpet.

ἄλλον ἄγγελον ἰσχυρόν. "Another," probably, than the four mentioned in ix. 15: cf. vii. 1, 2. Some suppose a reference back to v. 2, where we have heard of a "mighty angel" (the epithet is the same) before.

περιβεβλημένον νεφέλην. And therefore with something of the state with which Christ will come to judgement: cf. i. 7 &c. The cloud is wrapt about the head as well as the shoulders, as appears from the next clause.

ἡ ἶρις. The article suggests that the same bow of God is seen every time that it appears.

οἱ πόδες. i.e. his legs are as thick as the pillars of a temple, and their substance of fiery brightness.

2. **ἔχων.** Rightly paraphrased by versions as a predicate rather than an epithet.

βιβλαρίδιον ἠνεῳγμένον. The diminutive perhaps suggests comparison (but hardly contrast, which is sufficiently marked by the epithet) with the book of v. 1 sqq.

3. **αἱ ἑπτὰ βρονταί.** The only reason that we can imagine for the presence of the article is, that to St John's mind "the seven thunders" formed one element in the vision; as we might speak of "the seven seals," "the seven trumpets," "the seven vials"—these being known to us, as the thunders also were to him.

τὰς ἑαυτῶν φωνάς. The possessive is emphatic, "*their own* voices." Perhaps the meaning is, "each uttered its own." It has been taken to imply that the voices of the thunders were not the voice of God: but comparing Ps. xxix. *passim*, St John xii. 28, 29, it is scarcely possible to doubt that these thunders, voices from heaven, are from God, or at least directed by Him.

4. ἔμελλον γράφειν. See i. 19. It is useless to speculate how far the Book was written at the same time that the Vision was seen: possibly it may have been in part, but it is enough to suppose that, having been bidden to write, the Seer seemed to himself to write, or (so to speak) saw himself writing, at appropriate points of the Vision.

σφράγισον. Cf. Dan. xii. 4, 9. There the use of the words is more logical: Daniel is to write the vision, but not to let it be read: contrast in this book xxii. 10. Here the use of the word is suggested by the passage in Daniel—in the impassioned style of this book it is forgotten that what is not written cannot and need not be sealed. It may be noted that *μὴ αὐτὰ γράψῃς* in this verse and xi. 2 *μὴ αὐτὴν μετρήσῃς* are the only certain instances in this book of an accusative pronoun other than a relative coming before the verb except i. 7, xii. 15; cf. xi. 5, xviii. 14. *Why* the voices of the thunders were not to be written it is idle to guess: it is worse than idle to guess what they were. And in our ignorance of this it is hardly possible that we should be able to identify the mission of this angel with any special dispensation of God yet known.

5. τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ τὴν δεξιάν. Cf. Dan. xii. 7, where the angel lifts up *both* hands: here, his left is occupied with the book. For the gesture symbolic of an oath see Gen. xiv. 22, &c.: there *may* be a reference to that passage intended, in the description of the Most High that follows.

6. ὤμοσεν ἐν τῷ ζῶντι... This angel is therefore in no sense a divine Person.

6, 7. ὅτι χρόνος οὐκέτι ἔσται, ἀλλ'..., i.e. as we say, "there shall be no more time *lost*, but"...: "there shall be delay no longer," Ezek. xii. 22, 23. It is not in harmony with the usual language of Scripture to suppose that finite "time" is meant to be opposed to eternity.

7. ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις...τοῦ ἑβδόμου ἀγγέλου. This accounts for the Vision being *narrated* between the Sixth and Seventh Trumpets; though it also suggests that the whole of the Vision of the Trumpets may have been *seen* before it: indeed that the interval may have been long enough for what looked like a fulfilment of the signs which followed the first five Trumpets if not the Sixth—while the end seemed as far off as ever.

ὅταν μέλλῃ σαλπίζειν. If *μέλλῃ* is to be pressed we should understand that the course of God's judgements for this world comes to an end *before* the Seventh Angel sounds, and that when he does, the world to come begins; but as it would be against the analogy of this book to identify the general resurrection and the condemnation of the Lost with the Third Woe, it is better to take *ὅταν μέλλῃ σαλπίζειν* simply as a periphrasis for the future.

καὶ ἐτελέσθη. No doubt a literal reproduction of the so-called Hebrew "preterite with vau conversive," the only one now traceable in the book, though there are places where the Old Latin version seems to have read an aorist where our Greek MSS. read a future.

τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ. Here Abp Whately's paradox is hardly an exaggeration, that for "mystery" one might substitute "revelation," without altering the sense: see on i. 20.

εὐηγγέλισεν. The active is only found in this book.

τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ δούλους. The accusative is not irregular according to New Testament usage. St Luke generally uses it for the recipients of the message when its contents are not mentioned: when both are mentioned, the message is in the accusative, the recipients in the dative; though once, Acts xiii. 32, we have a double accusative.

8. ἡ φωνὴ ἣν ἤκουσα...πάλιν λαλοῦσαν. The participles are made to depend upon *ἤκουσα* by an irregular attraction, which would be less puzzling if it did not leave *ἡ φωνὴ* without any construction at all.

9. ἀπῆλθον. Apparently from his place in heaven to the earth; if the Vision which begins at iv. 1 is continued throughout the book, there are difficulties in tracing coherently the changes in the point of view.

κατάφαγε αὐτό. Ezek. ii. 8, iii. 3.

πικρανεῖ σου τὴν κοιλίαν. This Ezekiel's roll did *not* do. We may presume that this little book, like the O.T. one, contained "lamentations, and mourning, and woe." To both prophets, the first result of absorbing the words of God and making them their own (Jer. xv. 16) is delight at communion with Him and enlightenment by Him: but the Priest of the Lord did not feel, as the Disciple of Jesus did, the afterthought of bitterness—the Christ-like sorrow for those against whom God's wrath is revealed, who "knew not the time of their visitation."

"Else had it bruised too sore his tender heart
To see God's ransom'd world in wrath and flame depart." (Keble.)

It is generally held, in one form or another, that this "little book" symbolises or contains "the mystery of God," the approaching completion of which has just been announced. Some needlessly combine with this the theory (see note on v. 1) that it contains the whole or part of this Book of the Revelation. But really the surest clue to its meaning is the parallel passage in Ezekiel: if we say that the book contains "the Revelation of God's Judgement" (remembering how that Revelation is described in Rom. i. 18), we shall speak as definitely as is safe.

10. ἐπικράνθη. The ancient variant *ἐγεμίσθη*, which sums up what is expressed at length Job xxxii. 18, 19, brings out a real element in the meaning: the burden of unuttered truth is in itself a pain and, as we see in the next verse, the pain is a call to speak.

11. καὶ λέγουσίν μοι. For the impersonal plural cf. *βλέπωσιν* xvi. 15.

δεῖ σε πάλιν προφητεῦσαι. If, as is possible (see on *v.* 7), this implies a new or renewed commission to the Seer, it is surely unnecessary to try to make out that the remainder of the book contains higher mysteries than the foregoing part. The words certainly include

a personal warning to the Apostle himself;—he was to see the end of all things in vision, but his own earthly work and duties were not at an end. He had already "prophesied before many peoples and nations and tongues and kings" (whether Nero or Domitian was the last of these): and he would have to do the same "again."

CHAPTER XI.

1. λέγων. ℵ* reads λέγει. Text. Rec. reads *καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος εἱστήκει* λέγων with 36; ℵ^{cc}* *καὶ ἑστ. ὁ ἄγγ.* λέγων, and B_2 *καὶ ἱστ. ὁ ἄγγ.* λέγων.

2. τὴν αὐλὴν τὴν ἔξωθεν τοῦ ναοῦ. ℵ* reads *τῆς αὐλῆς τῆς ἔσωθεν τοῦ* λαοῦ, ℵ^{c} *τὴν αὐλὴν τὴν.....ναοῦ.*

ἔκβαλε ἔξωθεν. Text. Rec. reads *ἔκβ. ἔξω* with B_2; ℵ* reads *ἔκβ. ἔσω*, P *ἔκβ. ἔσωθεν.*

ἐδόθη. ℵ* reads *ἐδ. καί.*

3. περιβεβλημένοι with ℵ^{c}C 1. Lach. and W. H. read *περιβεβλημένους* with ℵ*AB_2P.

4. ἑστῶτες. Text. Rec. reads *ἑστῶσαι* with ℵ^{cc}P 1.

5. οὕτως. A omits.

7. τὸ θηρίον. A adds *τὸ τέταρτον.*

8. τὸ πτῶμα. Text. Rec. reads *τὰ πτώματα* with ℵP 1.

ὁ κύριος αὐτῶν. ℵ* omits *αὐτῶν*, 1 and Text. Rec. substitute *ἡμῶν.*

10. πέμψουσιν. Tisch. reads *πέμπουσιν* with ℵ*P.

11. ἐν αὐτοῖς. CP 1 omit *ἐν*, C reads *εἰσῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτοῖς.*

12. ἤκουσαν. ℵ$^{c}B_2$ and early editions of Tischendorf read *ἤκουσα.*

13. τὸ δέκατον. B_2 reads *τὸ τρίτον* as in the other plagues.

14. ἀπῆλθεν. ℵ reads *παρῆλθεν.*

15. ἐγένετο ἡ βασιλεία. Text. Rec. reads *ἐγένοντο αἱ βασιλεῖαι* with 1 and 7.

τοῦ κόσμου. And. Primas. and 28 omit.

τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ. Areth. after *κόσμου* goes on *τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν* Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Primas. and Ambros. *Dei nostri et Christi sui.*

16. οἱ ἐνώπιον. Lach. omits *οἱ* with AB_2 1.

οἱ κάθηνται. Lach. and Text. Rec. read *καθήμενοι* with AP 1; and Cyp. enlarged text, *in conspectu Dei sedentes.*

17. ὅτι εἴληφας. Tisch. reads *καὶ ὅτι εἴλ.* with ℵ*C fuld.

18. καιρός. C reads *κλῆρος.*

κριθῆναι καί. Primas. omits.

καὶ τοῖς ἁγ. καὶ τοῖς φοβ. A reads *καὶ τοὺς ἁγ. καὶ τοὺς φοβ.*

τοῖς μικροῖς καὶ τοῖς μεγάλοις. Lach. Treg. W. H. read *τοὺς μικροὺς καὶ τοὺς μεγάλους* with ℵ*AC.

καὶ διαφθεῖραι. A omits *καὶ.*

19. ὁ ἐν. Text. Rec. omits ὁ with ℵB$_2$.

οὐρανῷ. ℵ* adds *ἄνω*.

τῆς διαθήκης αὐτοῦ. Primas. and cop. omit *αὐτοῦ*; ℵ substitutes *τοῦ θεοῦ*; B$_2$ *τοῦ κυρίου*.

CH. XI. 1—13. THE MEASURING ANGEL AND THE TWO WITNESSES.

reed **1. κάλαμος.** Ezek. xl. 3; Zech. ii. 1 (*σχοινίον γεωμετρικόν*).

rod **ὅμοιος ῥάβδῳ**, i.e. a walking-staff: probably not so long as the one in Ezek., l.c., but perhaps of six *feet*:—so that it would naturally, when carried, be grasped near the upper end, like a pilgrim's staff, or a modern alpenstock.

λέγων. Lit. "There was given unto me a reed...saying," i.e. it was given me with these words. The gloss *καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος εἱστήκει* in the Textus Receptus (B.E.) probably goes back to the beginning of the fourth century. The speaker cannot be identified with the mighty angel of the preceding chapter: the language in itself is too vague to be pressed: and in *v.* 3 at any rate the speaker is either God (Is. xliii. 10, 12, xliv. 8) or Christ (Acts i. 8, &c.).

τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ. The word used is not that for the whole "Temple-precinct," but the "Temple" in the narrowest sense—what in the O.T. is called "the house" or "the palace."

altar **τὸ θυσιαστήριον.** Being *distinguished* from the Temple, we should naturally think of the Altar of Burnt-offering which stood outside it: besides that this was, and the Altar of Incense was not, large enough to be measured by something longer than a foot-rule. But we saw on vi. 9 that the Heavenly Temple apparently has *no* Altar of Burnt-offering distinct from the Altar of Incense: so the question only becomes important if we suppose the earthly Temple to be meant.

Is it then the heavenly or the earthly Temple that St John is bidden to measure? Probably the latter. Without pressing the argument from x. 9, that the Seer is now on earth, it is hardly likely that, whereas in Ezekiel, Zechariah, and inf. xxi. 15 the measurement, not of the Temple only but of the Holy City, is the work of angels, it should here be ascribed to a man. But what is more decisive is, that the whole of this chapter describes God's *rebukes* and *correcting judgements* on the city, the fate of which is connected with that of the Temple here named. This proves that it is the earthly city of God that is meant—and therefore *probably* the literal Jerusalem: for the Christian Church, imperfectly as it realises its divine ideal, does not appear to be dissociated from it in Scriptural typology or prophecy: "Jerusalem which is above...is the Mother of us all," even now, and even now "our citizenship is in Heaven."

τοὺς προσκυνοῦντας ἐν αὐτῷ. Not *ἐν αὐτοῖς*: probably therefore the mention of "the Altar" is parenthetical, for worship *in* it could scarcely be spoken of, though worship *on* it might. But the truth is,

neither the Temple (in the narrower sense) *nor* the Altar was ordinarily a place of spiritual "worship," but only of the ritual "service of God." Therefore the meaning of the Temple and Altar must be *to some extent* spiritualised: even if the prophecy be concerned with God's judgements on Jerusalem and the Jewish people, we are not to understand that the actual Temple was to be spared (for we know it was not): but, most probably, that the true Israelites would not be cut off from communion with God, even when their city and the earthly splendours of their Temple were destroyed. Ezek. xi. 16 will thus illustrate the sense of the passage, though there does not appear to be a conscious reference to it.

2. **τὴν αὐλὴν τὴν ἔξωθεν.** The words might be translated "the outer court of the Temple." It must be remembered that "the courts of the Lord's House" were the ordinary place for the worshippers to assemble, even before the outer and larger "Court of the Gentiles," with its magnificent colonnades, was added to Herod's Temple. Probably the latter is thought of, in its assignment to the Gentiles: but the meaning appears to be, that *all* the courts shall be profaned, up to the walls of the inmost Sanctuary.

μὴ αὐτὴν μετρήσῃς. See x. 4.

ἔκβαλε ἔξωθεν. "Cast out outside." The sense must be "leave out for profanation." This excludes the hypothesis (otherwise not without plausibility) that the measurement of the Temple is for destruction, not for preservation: see 2 Kings xxi. 13; Lam. ii. 8,—and for the destruction being regarded as the work of the prophet, cf. Ezek. xliii. 3. The variations in the MSS. between "the inner" and "the outer" court, and "casting out outside" and "casting out inside" shew that the scribes had long been preoccupied with the thought of the removal of the middle wall of partition between the court of Israel and the court of the Gentiles, for Σ and Ξ are not generally confused in the MSS. of this book.

πατήσουσιν. This doubtless refers to the words of the Lord in St Luke xxi. 24. Hitherto, the correspondences in this book with that Prophecy of our Lord's have been closest with St Matthew's version of it. Here the Vision does not go so far as the Prophecy. When the Witnesses have finished their testimony their bodies are cast out in the streets of Jerusalem, which is still standing and hugs her chains. Hence there can be no reference to the Jewish War: it is a vision of profanation, not of destruction.

μῆνας τεσσεράκοντα δύο. So xiii. 5. This period is apparently identical with the "1260 days" of the next verse, and xii. 6: and with the "time, times, and half a time" (i.e. 3½ years) of xii. 14. In Dan. vii. 25, xii. 7 we have this last measure of the period given, and the time indicated by Daniel must be either identical with or typical of that indicated by St John. It is to be noted, that in Dan. xii. 11, 12, we have the period extended to 1290 and 1335 days.

The key to these prophecies, that speak of definite periods of time, is generally sought in Ezek. iv. 6—it is supposed that each pro-

phetical "day" stands for a year, and by consequence a "week" is equivalent to seven years, a "month" to 30, and a "year" to 360. This gives an *approximately* satisfactory explanation of the one prophecy of the "70 weeks" in Dan. ix.: they would naturally be understood to extend from B.C. 536 (the decree of Cyrus) to B.C. 5 (the Nativity), A.D. 29—30 (the Crucifixion), and A.D. 70 (the fall of Jerusalem); but the terms in which their beginning and end are described can with a little pressure be applied to B.C. 457 (the decree of Artaxerxes), A.D. 26 (the Baptism of St John), A.D. 29—30, and A.D. 33—*possibly* the date of the death of St Stephen, and so of the final rejection of the Gospel by the Jews and of the Jewish sacrifices by God. But in no other case has a prophecy been even tolerably interpreted on this principle. If it were admitted in this, we should naturally understand that Jerusalem was to have been restored in A.D. 1330—or at latest 1360 or 1405. Indeed, if the Saracen conquest instead of the Roman were taken as the starting-point, the restoration would not fall due till 1897, and it is humanly speaking quite possible that Palestine may pass into new hands then. But men ought to have learnt by this time to distrust such calculations: as we "know not the day nor the hour," so we know not the year nor the century. Two or three generations ago a number of *independent* calculations were made to converge to the year 1866 as the beginning of the end: but in that year nothing considerable happened except the Austrian war—which of all recent wars perhaps had least the character of a war between Christ and Antichrist. It was at worst an instance of the painful and not innocent way in which fallen human nature works out its best desires: the Austrians were technically in the right, while the victory of the Prussians has proved honourable and beneficial to both empires alike.

3. καὶ δώσω τοῖς δυσὶν μάρτυσίν μου, καὶ προφητεύσουσιν. A literal reproduction of Hebrew idiom. The traditional view of the two Witnesses, dating from the second century, is that they are Enoch and Elijah—the two prophets who, having (for a time) finished their work on earth, have left it without death: but who, since "it is appointed for all men once to die," will, as is here revealed, come on earth again, to prophesy and suffer death in the days of Antichrist.

As to Elijah, there seems to be little doubt that this view is true. The prophecy of Mal. iv. 5 has indeed received *a* fulfilment in the mission of the Baptist (St Luke i. 17). But St Matt. xvii. 11, 12 perhaps implies that this fulfilment is not the final one—especially when compared with St John i. 21. Really the plain sense of these passages seems to be, that Elijah will actually be sent before the second Coming of Christ, as one in his spirit and power was before His first.

But the personality of his colleague is more doubtful. St Victorinus was well-nigh alone in thinking of Jeremiah. Of Enoch we know so little, that internal evidence hardly applies either way: all we can say is, that he was recognised by popular Jewish belief as a seer of apocalypses, and that his character as a prophet and

preacher of repentance is recognised by St Jude. This harmonises well enough with his being intended: but the internal evidence of Scripture itself points rather to *Moses* and Elias being the two witnesses. Their names are coupled in the prophecy of Mal. iv. 4, 5, as well as in the history of the Transfiguration: and *v.* 6 ascribes to these prophets the plague actually inflicted by Moses, as well as that by Elijah. This modification of the traditional view was first suggested by the abbot Joachim, the great mediæval commentator on this book; but it has found wide acceptance in modern times.

ἡμέρας χιλίας διακοσίας ἑξήκοντα. See on *v.* 2.

περιβεβλημένοι σάκκους. The well attested reading *περιβεβλημένους* might no doubt have arisen from assonance: if not, it must be explained as if *καὶ προφ.…ἑξήκοντα* were parenthetical and the Seer had written *θήσω τοὺς δύο μάρτυρας*; if he wrote *δώσω τοὺς δ. μ.* the accusative was certain to be very early and widely changed to the dative. Perhaps the sackcloth is to be understood as the official dress of prophets (Is. xx. 2), rather than a sign that the Witnesses are persecuted or mourn for the sin of Jerusalem.

4. αἱ δύο ἐλαῖαι καὶ αἱ δύο λυχνίαι. As in Zech. iv. the two olive trees or the two Anointed Ones supply the bowl of *one* golden candlestick with oil, it may be a question whether the reference is directly to Zechariah or to a tradition which grew from his words: the two candlesticks, cf. Ps. cxxxii. 17, are clearly known beforehand like the two olive trees: we know from the "Psalms of Solomon," viii. 12, xvii. 6, that there was a widespread feeling that from the time of Epiphanes there had been no lawful kingdom or lawful priesthood, for the Maccabees had usurped both: this would explain a belief founded on Zechariah that a lawful kingdom and priesthood must be restored before the Kingdom of Christ, as there was a belief founded on Malachi that Christ would not come before Elias had appeared. Hence this verse would be an exact parallel to Matt. xi. 14, at once a sanction and a correction to existing belief. In Zechariah apparently the "two Anointed Ones" are Zerubbabel and Joshua, or rather perhaps the ideal King and Priest, conceived as types of Him Who is both: perhaps these two Witnesses similarly typify Him as King (cf. Deut. xxxiii. 5) and Prophet.

ἑστῶτες. The masculine is not surprising after *οὗτοι*; but the position of the participle is as singular here as that of the verb in vii. 2.

5. πῦρ ἐκπορεύεται ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτῶν. Jer. v. 14 is a precedent for this image; 2 Kings i. 10, &c. for the sense.

εἴ τις θελήσῃ. The irregularity, so far as there is one, is due to a common tendency of all Greek not consciously moulded on the early classics to use the conjunctive in conditional sentences even after *εἰ*, Winer, p. 568: hence the irregularity has presumption in its favour, apart from the balance of the authority.

6. κλεῖσαι τὸν οὐρανόν. Like Elias.

τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς προφητείας αὐτῶν. Is this term fixed with conscious reference to the three years and six months for which Elias did shut heaven (Luke iv. 25; James v. 17)? The term was no doubt arrived at by adding the dry interval between the spring and autumn rains to the three years for which both failed, as the regular rains were renewed at Elijah's prayer at the end of the third year.

στρέφειν αὐτὰ εἰς αἷμα. Like Moses.

7. τὸ θηρίον. Here first mentioned: probably that which appears in xiii. 1, not in xiii. 11: though neither of them makes his appearance immediately "out of the bottomless pit": see, however, xvii. 8. But perhaps it is worth noticing that "the deep" in Rom. x. 7 (the word is the same as "the bottomless pit" here) corresponds to "the sea" of Deut. xxx. 13.

ποιήσει μετ' αὐτῶν πόλεμον. Dan. vii. 21. We are not to think of the "saints" who rally round the "witnesses" as necessarily holding the holy city against the armies of the beast; in the earliest and best days of the Maccabees the sinners were for the most part at ease in Zion, while the saints were fighting the good fight in the wilderness; the struggle to which the Seer looks forward is the antitype of that.

νικήσει αὐτούς. Martyrs who have only to testify and suffer are always conquerors; but it belongs to the calling of these prophets not only to witness but to strive—and to strive in vain; their testimony is silenced and their work undone.

καὶ ἀποκτενεῖ αὐτούς. After the lost battle.

8. ἐπὶ τῆς πλατείας. For the sing. cf. xxi. 21, xxii. 2. The word in fact means a *broad* street, such as the principal street of a city would be. The modern Italian *piazza* is the same word; but xxii. 2 seems to shew that it is a street rather than a square—perhaps most accurately a "boulevard" in the modern sense, only running through the city, not round it.

τῆς πόλεως τῆς μεγάλης. Many commentators suppose this to be the Babylon of xiv. 8 and chaps. xvii. sqq.—i.e. Rome, whether literally or in an extended sense. But this seems hardly natural. If it were, why is it not *called* Babylon here, just as in the last verse the beast was called the beast? Besides, here the great majority of the inhabitants repent at God's judgement: contrast xvi. 9. The only other possible view is, that *this* great city is *Jerusalem:* and with this everything that is said about it seems to agree.

ἥτις καλεῖται. Here probably we have a comment of the Seer on the words of the Voice, which goes down to the end of the verse.

Σόδομα. Jerusalem is so *called* in Is. i. 10, and is *likened* to Sodom in Ezek. xvi. 46. For the licentiousness of the generation before the fall of Jerusalem, see comm. on Hos. iv. 14: Jos. *B. J.* iv. ix. 10 suggests a closer likeness.

Αἴγυπτος. Jerusalem, it must be admitted, is never so called in the O.T. Possibly it *was* called so in the language of New Testament prophecy; certainly New Testament facts made the name appropriate: comparing Acts ii. 47, v. 12, &c. with the Epistle to the Galatians, we see how Jerusalem was at first the refuge of the people of God, from which nevertheless they had at last to escape as from a house of bondage.

ὁ κύριος αὐτῶν. This clause seems almost certainly to identify "the great city" as Jerusalem: perhaps St John uses the title, as implying that its old one, "the Holy City," is forfeited. At the same time, if we *do* suppose the City meant to be Rome, which might be supported by chap. xviii. 24, itself a parallel to Matt. xxiii. 35, these words can be explained, either by the responsibility of Pilate for the Lord's death, or on the principle of the beautiful legend, *Domine, quo vadis?*—that the Lord suffered in His Servants.

9. βλέπουσιν. The presents in this verse and the next are pretty consistently translated as futures by the Latin, but the later Greek MSS. alter all the presents but the first: while there is a decided balance of authority for *πέμψουσιν*. If the presents were uniform we might understand them as a sort of transition to the aorists in 11 seqq.

τὸ πτῶμα αὐτῶν...τὰ πτώματα αὐτῶν. No reason can be assigned for the change of number.

οὐκ ἀφίουσιν τεθῆναι εἰς μνῆμα. As we are certainly to understand from *vv.* 11, 12 that the Prophets are made like to their Lord in His Resurrection and Ascension, we are probably to understand here that they are not made like to Him in His Burial.

11. μετὰ τὰς τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ ἥμισυ. The *half* day lends a certain support to the "year-day" hypothesis—that $3\frac{1}{2}$ years are meant, which might be combined with the theory of St Hippolytus that the time of their testimony corresponds to the first half of the last of Daniel's Seventy Weeks, while the reign of Antichrist occupies the second. But the traditional explanation takes the days literally—they rise, not on the third day like their Lord, but on the fourth—being like Him, though not equal to Him. Whether the *periods* named are to be taken literally or no, there seems no reason why we should not follow the traditional view, and understand this chapter as foretelling a sign which shall literally come to pass in the last days. The prophets Moses and Elijah (or perhaps Enoch and Elijah) will appear upon earth—or at the least two prophets will arise in their "spirit and power": the scene of their prophecy will be Jerusalem, which will then be reoccupied by the Jewish nation. Antichrist (under whose patronage, it is believed, the restoration of the Jews will have taken place) will raise persecution against them, and kill them: but they will rise from the dead, and *then*, and not till then, the heart of Israel will turn to the Lord.

12. ἤκουσαν. Possibly not the two prophets only, but "they that beheld them."

ἐν τῇ νεφέλῃ. "In *the* cloud"—the same. perhaps, that received their Lord out of His Disciples' sight. Any way, "the cloud" is regarded as a permanently recurring phenomenon, like "the rainbow" in x. 1.

13. τὸ δέκατον τῆς πόλεως. This is the mildest judgement recorded in this book: we are expressly told after the far severer judgements of the Trumpets and the Bowls, that they wrought no repentance but rather blasphemy (ix. 20, 21, xvi. 9, 21). Here it seems as if Jerusalem by a lighter chastisement was brought, if not to repentance, to some beginning of it. Blindness in part has happened to Israel, but they are still beloved for the fathers' sake.

ὀνόματα ἀνθρώπων. "Names of men," as A.V. margin: cf. iii. 4, and Acts i. 15 there quoted.

χιλιάδες ἑπτά. Possibly this number is taken as approximately a tenth part of the population of Jerusalem. The city, which can never have extensive suburbs, being surrounded by ravines, can never hold a larger permanent population than 70,000; but in its highest prosperity it may have held as many, and perhaps it may again.

ἔδωκαν δόξαν. Here and in xiv. 7, xvi. 9 these words seem to imply the *confession of sin*, as in Josh. vii. 19, and probably St John ix. 24. It was the predicted work of Elijah to "turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers": this will be fulfilled by his posthumous success, uniting the original stock of God's People to the branches that now grow out of it (Rom. xi. 17, &c.).

τῷ θεῷ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. This title (combined in Jonah i. 9, Ezra i. 2 with the Name of the LORD) seems to have been the way in which Jews living among heathens (Ezra v. 12, Nehem. ii. 4) or heathens under Jewish influence (Ezra vi. 10) spoke of the God of Israel. This accounts for the way in which heathens in later times conceived of their religion. *Nil praeter nubes et* caeli numen *adorant* (Juv. XIV. 97).

14. ἡ οὐαὶ ἡ δευτέρα ἀπῆλθεν. Having included the profanation of the Holy City and the plagues inflicted by the two prophets, as well as the invasion of the terrible horsemen, chap. ix.

ἡ οὐαὶ ἡ τρίτη. In what does this consist? *Perhaps* we are to see the answer in xii. 12: but at any rate we have an instance of the way that, throughout this book, the last member of each series of signs disappoints us; we think (cf. x. 7) that the end of all things is come, but instead a new series begins.

15—19. XII. 7—12. THE SEVENTH TRUMPET.

15. φωναὶ μεγάλαι. Cf. xvi. 17.

ἐγένετο ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ κόσμου τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ. The only possible translation of the text is "the kingdom of the world is become our Lord's and His Christ's"; but the position of *ἐγένετο* is strange. The phrase "His Christ" is founded on the O. T. phrase "the Lord's Anointed," cf. St Luke ii. 28.

βασιλεύσει. Who? Our Lord or His Christ? St John probably would have regarded the question as meaningless, though comparing *v.* 1 (see note on *ἐν αὐτῷ*) it is not likely that he used the sing. consciously to *imply* that Christ and His Father are One, which is implied xx. 6. It would be more to the point to compare "Christ the Lord" in St Luke ii. 11 with "the Lord's Christ" already quoted.

17. κύριε ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ. See on i. 8.

ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν. Here and in xvi. 5 ὁ *ἐρχόμενος* is omitted: no reason can be assigned for the curtailment of the full formula of i. 4, 8, iv. 8, and no significance can be attached to it.

17, 18. εἴληφας...ἦλθεν ἡ ὀργή σου. It is hypercritical in the N.T., and in this book particularly, to attempt to distinguish regularly between perfects and simple preterites: but here it is perhaps worth observing that all the verbs (after the first) are in the same tense: "Thou hast taken Thy great power, and didst reign: and the nations were wroth, and Thy wrath came," &c.

18. ὁ καιρὸς τῶν νεκρῶν κριθῆναι. The mention of the general Judgement here so long before the end of the book is not really a difficulty if we suppose that the Seven Trumpets form a separate vision, and that each vision carries us up to the End, or at least to the very verge of it.

τοῖς μικροῖς καὶ τοῖς μεγάλοις. See crit. notes: the accusative, which in almost all critical texts comes in somewhere or other after the dative, would be quite natural after a verb like *ἀποτίσαι*, which is only once found in N.T., Philem. 19, where D_2 reads *ἀποδώσω* as if *ἀποτίσω* was difficult.

διαφθεῖραι τοὺς διαφθείροντας. Possibly, as A.V. margin, we should translate the participle "corrupt," not "destroy": there is an inverse change of sense in 1 Cor. iii. 17.

19. ὁ ναὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. See on iv. 6, vi. 9.

τῆς διαθήκης αὐτοῦ. "Of His covenant," as constantly in O.T. It was a wide-spread belief of the Jews that the miraculous reappearance of the long-lost Ark in the earthly Temple would be the sign of Messiah's coming to reign.

ἐγένοντο ἀστραπαί. So viii. 5, xvi. 18: in all three places they mark the end of the series of seven signs.

CHAPTER XII.

2. ἔχουσα. Lach. Tisch. W. H. (text) and Weiss add *καί* with ℵC Primas. and early vg.

κράζει. A adds *καί*.

5. ἔτεκεν υἱόν, ἄρσεν with AC; cf. Is. lxvi. 7 *ἐξέφυγε καὶ ἔτεκεν ἄρσεν*; Text. Rec. reads *ἔτ. υἱὸν ἄρρενα* with ℵ$B_2$1; P has *ἄρσενα*; Victorin. *peperit filium*, Primas. *peperit masculum*.

6. ἔχει. Sc Text. Rec. with C 1 and Treg. text. All other editors and Treg. margin add *ἐκεῖ* with ℵAB$_2$P and early vg.

τρέφουσιν. Text. Rec. and Lachmann read *τρέφωσιν* with AP 1.

7. ὁ Μιχαήλ. A reads *ὅ τε Μιχαήλ.*

τοῦ πολεμῆσαι. Tisch. omits *τοῦ* with ℵB$_2$1; Text. Rec. has *ἐπολέμησαν* with the Latins who, except Primas. *ut pugnarent,* do not attempt to reproduce the irregularity of the text.

8. ἴσχυσαν. A and many cursives have *ἴσχυσεν,* and many cursives *αὐτῷ* for *αὐτῶν.*

9. ὁ μέγας ὁ ὄφις. ℵ 1 Primas. read *ὁ μέγας ὄφις.*

ἐβλήθησαν. Hieron. and several cursives omit.

10. ὁ κατήγορος. All editors but Treg. read *ὁ κατήγωρ* which is only preserved by A.

αὐτῶν. So Text. Rec. and Treg. with ℵB$_2$C; Lach., Tisch., W. H., Weiss read *αὐτοὺς* with AP 1.

11. αὐτοί. ℵ cop. read *οὗτοι.*

12. οἱ ἐν αὐτοῖς σκηνοῦντες. C has *κατασκηνοῦντες*; ℵ and Vulg. have *οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν αὐτοῖς.*

οὐαί. Text. Rec. adds *τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν* with 1 and And.

τὴν γῆν...τὴν θάλασσαν. B$_2$ has *τῇ γῇ...τῇ θαλάσσῃ.*

13. ὁ δράκων ὅτι ἐβλήθη. ℵ^c reads *ὅτι ἐβλήθη ὁ δράκων.* This may be compared with the omission of the whole clause *ὅτι ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν γῆν* in Hippol. *Antichr.* 60.

ἄρσενα. A reads *ἄρσεναν.*

14. αἱ δύο. Text. Rec. omits *αἱ* with ℵB$_2$.

15. ἵνα...ποιήσῃ. Cop. omits, Primas. *ut eam perderet.*

18. καὶ ἐστάθην. So Text. Rec. and Tisch. with B$_2$P cop. And. Are.; Lach. Treg. W. H. and Weiss read *ἐστάθη* with ℵAC vg. arm. syr.; Primas. seems to omit the verse.

Ch. XII. 1—6. The Woman with the Man-Child.

This Vision is clearly not to be closely connected with that of the Witnesses: not only is it separated by the arrangement of the prophecies xi. 14, 19; but the historical situation seems to be completely changed: in the former Jerusalem is standing and inhabited from first to last: in the second the flight of the woman (cf. Micah iv. 10 if as is probable, see below, she is to be identified with the ideal Sion) corresponds to the fall of the earthly city, after which the elect remnant, the spiritual Israel, are preserved in the wilderness for a time appointed. It is remarkable that every part of the prophecy of the Lord on the Mount of Olives should be *expanded* in this book, except what concerns the destruction of the earthly Jerusalem and its Temple.

1. σημεῖον. A.V. translates "a wonder" here and in *v.* 3, because *σημεῖον* in N.T. has a quasi-technical sense; R.V. "a sign."

γυνή. Who is this? The two answers most commonly given are (1) the Virgin Mary, (2) (which may be called the traditional sense) the Church. Neither seems quite satisfactory. There can indeed be little doubt that the Son born of this woman is the Son of Mary: nor ought theological or ecclesiastical considerations to exclude the view that Mary is herself intended by the mother; the glory ascribed to her is no greater than that of a glorified saint (Dan. xii. 3; St Matt. xiii. 43), and St John was not bound to suppress a truth for fear of the false inference Pius V. or Pius IX. might seek to draw from it. But it is not in harmony with the usage of this book for a human being, even a glorified saint, to be introduced in his personal character: if St John saw (see on iv. 4, v. 5) *himself*, who was not yet glorified, sitting among the elders, it is plain that it is typical, not personal, glory or blessedness that this description indicates.

Who then, or what, is the typical or mystical Mother of Christ? Not the Christian Church, which in this book as elsewhere is represented as His wife: but *the Jewish Church*, the ideal Israel, "the daughter of Zion." See especially Mic. iv. 10, v. 3: where it is *her* travail from which He is to be born Who is born in Bethlehem. This accounts for the only features that support the other view, the appearance in her glory of the sun, moon, and stars of Cant. vi. 10, and the mention of "the remnant of her seed" in *v.* 17.

It may, however, perhaps be true that the ideal mother of the Lord is half identified in St John's mind, and intended to be so in his reader's, with His human mother: she embodies the ideal conception, just as the ideal of the false enemy of goodness in Ps. cix. received embodiment in Judas, or as the king of Israel who was to come is called "David," by Hosea and Ezekiel.

περιβεβλημένη τὸν ἥλιον.... There may be a reference to Cant. vi. 10, where however there is no mention of the stars. More certain is the reference, or at least similarity of imagery, to Gen. xxxvii. 9, where "the eleven stars," i.e. signs of the zodiac, represent Jacob's eleven sons, bowing down to Joseph, the twelfth. Here, the ideal Israel appears in the glory of all the patriarchs: Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and their wives, are hers, and of the Twelve Tribes none is wanting. The whole description, in fact, is interpreted in Rom. ix. 5.

2. καὶ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα. The construction if we follow most editors must be *ὤφθη...γυνὴ περιβεβλημένη...καὶ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα καὶ κράζει.* There is an exact parallel to the interrupted construction in the apocryphal book of Zephaniah (Clem. Strom. v. 11 fin.), *καὶ ἀνέλαβέν με πνεῦμα, καὶ ἀνήνεγκέν με εἰς οὐρανὸν πέμπτον καὶ ἐθεώρουν ἀγγέλους καλουμένους κυρίους· καὶ τὸ διάδημα αὐτῶν ἐπικείμενον ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ, καὶ ἦν ἑκάστου αὐτῶν ὁ θρόνος ἐπταπλασίων φωτὸς ἡλίου ἀνατέλλοντος, οἰκοῦντας ἐν ναοῖς σωτηρίας καὶ ὑμνοῦντας θεὸν ἄρρητον ὕψιστον.*

ὠδίνουσα καὶ βασανιζομένη τεκεῖν. There is probably a reminiscence of Gen. iii. 16, and perhaps of St John xvi. 21. The main reference is to Micah iv. 10: cf. also St Matt. xxiv. 8; St Mark xiii. 8.

3. **δράκων.** The word in classical Greek means simply "serpent," though perhaps it was always specially applied to the larger or more formidable kinds. But in St John's time the conception seems to have been familiar of a half-mythical kind of serpent, to which the name was appropriated: it had not gone so far as the mediæval type of "dragon," with legs and wings, but the dragon was supposed to "stand" (see the next verse), hardly perhaps "on his rear," as Milton imagines the Serpent of Eden to have done, before the curse of Gen. iii. 14, but erect from the middle upwards; see Verg. *Æn.* II. 206—8. Whether this dragon bore visibly on him the primæval curse or no, there is an undoubted reference to the story of the Fall in this picture of the woman, the man, and the serpent. In Ps. lxxiv. 13, 14 (14, 15); Job xxvi. 13; Is. xxvii. 1, li. 9, we seem to find references to a "war in heaven," either past or future, like that which follows here.

κεφαλὰς ἑπτά. Probably the vision avails itself of the imagery furnished by popular mythology: very likely Syria and Palestine had tales of seven-headed serpents, like the hydra of Lerna, or the cobras of modern Indian stories.

καὶ κέρατα δέκα. The only illustration of this is, that the Beast of chaps. xiii., xvii. and of Dan. vii. has the like. Possibly, though the dragon is the archetype, not a copy, of the Beast, his appearance is known by that of the Beast: possibly the meaning here is more general: all unsanctified power is embodied in him (cf. St Luke iv. 6), as all the power of holiness in the Lamb (chap. v. 6).

4. **καὶ ἡ οὐρὰ αὐτοῦ σύρει.** Is *σύρει* part of the description of the dragon, while *ἔβαλεν* marks an event? If so, we should understand that the great serpent coils himself over a third of the sky, and seems to sweep the stars in his train: when he is cast down they are cast down with him after the war in heaven. This of course would be an allegory of the fall of the angels. If not, we must suppose that the wrigglings of his tail are always casting down the stars, and explain the change of tense, if at all, as a Hebraism.

ἵνα...καταφάγῃ symbolises the enmity of the serpent against the seed of the woman, beginning with the intended treachery of Herod, and massacre of the Innocents; but including also the malice that pursued Him through life, the temptation, and at last the Cross.

5. **ἔτεκεν υἱόν, ἄρσεν.** Cf. Is. lxvi. 7, and crit. note.

ὃς μέλλει ποιμαίνειν. A periphrasis for the future. This designation of the Son proves beyond question who He is: see ii. 27 as proving, if there could be any doubt about it, how Ps. ii. 9 is understood in this book.

πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ πρὸς τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ. Cf. iii. 21. In the vision, "He that sat on the throne" is still, it may be, present: if so, St John *sees* the translation of the child to His side.

6. **εἰς τὴν ἔρημον.** Did she descend to earth? she had appeared in heaven before. See on x. 9. Possibly, as the vision proceeds,

heaven, if we ought not to say the sky, becomes the mere background or even the canvas of its scenery.

ὅπου ἔχει [ἐκεῖ] τόπον. See critical note. The redundant adverb is genuine and a Hebraism. Most of the historical interpretations that have been advanced for this part of the vision proceed on the assumption that the Woman is the Christian Church. As interpretations, they are excluded if we admit that she is the ancient Israel: though applications and illustrations drawn from one may be appropriate to the other. On the view taken here, the doctrine of this chapter is analogous to that of Rom. xi., though the point of view is not quite the same. St Paul distinguishes a double fulfilment of God's promises to Israel—"the Election," the believing minority, receive them now, and "all Israel shall be saved" at last. St John does not distinguish the two, but uses language that covers both. The Daughter of Zion is kept alive by God, *both* in the continued quasi-national life of the Jewish people, and in the number (be it large or small) of Christians of Jewish race; who are known to God, though for 1500 years at least they have, as a community, disappeared in the mass of their Gentile fellow-believers. It is hardly necessary to contradict the utterly unhistorical theory, that any now existing Christian nation can be identified with a portion of Israel. The theory is perhaps most absurd when applied to the English, whose ancestors are mentioned as a pagan tribe of north Germany, within 30 years, if not within three, of the date of this vision. (Tac. *Germ.* 40.)

ἡμέρας χιλίας διακοσίας ἑξήκοντα. See on xi. 2, 3. Here, as in the earlier of those verses, the time defined may be that of the humiliation of Israel, as perhaps in the second it is conceived as that of their temporary rejection. It is a curious coincidence (even on the hypothesis that distinctly Jewish elements have been incorporated in the Apocalypse, it can scarcely be more) that the desert fortress of Masada did hold out three years and a half after the fall of Jerusalem.

7—12. The War in Heaven.

Here it is possible that a part of the vision of the Seven Trumpets has been transposed into the vision of the Woman and the Dragon, for it certainly seems as if the coming down of the Devil to earth is the Third Woe: and we have seen reason to think that the visions of the Angel with the Book and the Two Witnesses were inserted designedly between the Sixth and the Seventh Trumpets. A seer of course has a perfect right to re-arrange his visions: the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets: here the transposition is very significant; because the Advocate is taken up the Accuser must needs be cast down.

7. ἐγένετο πόλεμος ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. This must refer to an event subsequent to the Incarnation—not therefore to the "Fall of the Angels" described in *Paradise Lost*. Milton may have been justified in using this description as *illustrating* or *suggesting* what he supposed to have happened then: but we must not identify the two.

ὁ Μιχαήλ. Dan. x. 13, 21, xii. 1. The two latter passages seem to tell us that he is the special patron or guardian angel of the people of Israel: and it may be in that character that he is introduced here.

οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ. He is called "the archangel" in Jude 9: the angels are "his," as well as "angels of the Lord," just as either a general or a king can talk of "*his* soldiers."

τοῦ πολεμῆσαι. Ewald tried to explain this as a Hebraism. The sense is "There was war in Heaven, so that Michael and his angels made war with the Dragon." R.V. "going forth to war." Did the text before the transposition suggested above ever run *καὶ προῆλθεν δράκων...ὅ τε Μιχαὴλ καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ τοῦ πολεμῆσαι μετὰ τοῦ δράκοντος*?

9. ἐβλήθη. "Was cast down," rather than "cast out."

ὁ ὄφις ὁ ἀρχαῖος. Gen. iii. 1. This is the only place in canonical Scripture (see, however, Wisd. ii. 24) where we are told that the Tempter in Eden was the Devil: but it cannot be doubted that we *are* so told here.

ὁ καλούμενος διάβολος καὶ ὁ Σατανᾶς. In spite of the way the articles are placed, of course these are both names of the Dragon. The former name is regularly used in the LXX. as the representative of the latter: though the two are not quite synonymous, the Hebrew name meaning "the Adversary," and the Greek "the Slanderer" (e.g. the same word is used in a general sense in 1 Tim. iii. 11). "Satan" has the article here, as always in the O.T., except in the Book of Job—it is still rather a designation than a proper name. In Enoch xl. 7 we have it used in the plural in a passage very like this: "The fourth voice I heard expelling the Satans, and prohibiting them from coming into the presence of the Lord of spirits, to prefer accusations against the inhabitants of the earth." The voice is afterwards explained to be that of Phanuel, the angel of penitence and hope.

ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν γῆν. St Luke x. 18, St John xii. 31 throw light on what must be meant—a breaking of the power of the Devil by that of the Incarnate Lord: but we cannot be quite sure that our Lord speaks of the *same* fall of Satan in both passages, or in either of the same that St John describes.

10. φωνὴν μεγάλην. See on vi. 6, and cf. xi. 12. The "great voice," as appears from "our brethren" below, is the voice of a multitude whether of angels or of men. We are told that the saints are fellow-citizens of the angels, and the angels fellow-servants of the saints: nowhere that the two are brethren: perhaps that is a tie that can only be between creatures of flesh and blood.

ἡ σωτηρία καὶ ἡ δύναμις. Probably the salvation and the might of God; but the view of A.V. that *ἡ βασ. τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν* and *ἡ ἐξ. τοῦ χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ* correspond exactly and exclusively is not indefensible. The previous articles would then merely mark salvation or strength in general, and have no idiomatic equivalent in English.

ἡ ἐξουσία. Here, as generally, a derivative committed power, cf. 1 Cor. xv. 27, 28. See also xvi. 9 n.

ὁ κατήγορος. The true reading is *ὁ κατήγωρ.* The word was borrowed and distorted by the Rabbins, and is found in Hebrew letters in the Talmud applied to Satan. St Michael was called by the correlative term "the Advocate."

ὁ κατηγορῶν. Literally "who accuseth," but the context shews that the meaning of the tense is to mark the act as habitual rather than as present. The "Prologue in Heaven" of the Book of Job, and Zech. iii. 1, of course illustrate the sense. Sometimes the conflict between good and evil is a conflict of ideas and principles: then Satan accuses the brethren in heaven, not always falsely (St Luke xvi. 15); sometimes on one side or on both it is a clashing of passions and interests: then Satan is cast down to earth: it goes ill with all who have their conversation there.

11. διὰ τὸ αἷμα...διὰ τὸν λόγον. These conquerors are the martyrs and confessors of Christ: though He is gone up, Satan is not at once cast down. The accusatives mark the cause, not the means of their victory: we might have expected the second to have been replaced by a genitive. The whole verse would be easier to understand after *v.* 17.

οὐκ ἠγάπησαν τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῶν. St John xii. 25, St Luke xiv. 26 are the closest parallels among the similar sayings of our Lord. Here, as in all of them, the word for "life" is that elsewhere rendered "soul"—not the same as that used for "life eternal" in St John l.c.

ἄχρι θανάτου. They carried the temper of not loving life (not only to the renunciation of its joys, but) even to death.

12. διὰ τοῦτο. Because the Accuser is cast down from Heaven, which is at once the proof of the coming of "the salvation and the might and the kingdom" and the earnest of the victory of the brethren.

οἱ ἐν αὐτοῖς σκηνοῦντες. The order here and in xiii. 6, 12 is common in ordinary Greek, rare in this book.

οὐαὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν. See crit. notes, and for accusative cf. viii. 13. The sense is clear though the construction is peculiar to this book. *When* and *in what sense* the Devil's power was, or will be, at once lessened and brought into more terrible neighbourhood to earth, we can hardly venture to say precisely. Perhaps texts like St John ix. 39, xv. 22 illustrate this. Every manifestation of Christ deepens the guilt of sin which persists in spite of it. Yet it cannot be said that since the Incarnation Satan has had increased power to afflict unbelievers or backsliders; on the contrary, earthly life has upon the whole been steadily growing safer, easier and more comfortable, both for the good and for the evil, since Christ has been ruler in the midst of His enemies, for whom He is still receiving gifts. It is probable therefore that the principal fulfilment of this Scripture is still to come.

ὀλίγον καιρὸν ἔχει. This short season corresponds with the reign of Antichrist, the Beast, whom the Dragon enthrones on earth when he himself is cast down from heaven. Consequently it cannot be identified with the "little season" of xx. 3, which comes after the overthrow of Antichrist and the binding of Satan.

13—17. The Deliverance of the Woman.

13. ἐδίωξεν τὴν γυναῖκα. The reference is probably in the first instance to the Roman persecution of the Jews, in and after the wars of Titus and Hadrian: both the bitterness with which those wars were conducted (Josephus probably exaggerates the clemency of Titus), and the savage fanaticism which provoked it, were the Dragon's work. So also were the mediæval persecutions of the Jews by Christians: and so is the social or intellectual intolerance which is by no means extinct yet, and which is actually often bitterest against a *Christian* Jew who does not forget his nationality.

14. αἱ δύο πτέρυγες τοῦ ἀετοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου. The great eagle need not be any one mystical eagle known to the Seer and his disciples, it may be as general as "the eagle" Deut. xxviii. 49; if on the other hand we omit the article before δύο, it will be clear that the eagle is many-winged as in 4 Esdras, and therefore mysterious. Some suppose "the great eagle" to *symbolise* the Roman Empire; but that did *not* protect the Jewish church, though to some extent it did the Christian.

ἵνα πέτηται...τοῦ ὄφεως. This resumes *v.* 6 in a way characteristic of the writer's method in linking different visions together, cf. viii. 2, 6 and xv. 1, 5, 6. In the latter passage and in this chapter it might be a question whether the earlier verse was not the afterthought.

15, 16. Gen. iii. 15. The sense must be, that the Devil attempts to frustrate God's counsels, not now by attacking the old Israel, but the new "Israel of God." Titus, we are told, resolved to destroy the Temple, "in order that the religion of the Jews *and Christians* might be more completely abolished" (Sulp. Sev. II. 30, supposed to embody a quotation from Tacitus). Hadrian, on the contrary, seeing that the Christians had separated their cause from that of the rebel Jews, extended to them a tolerance not merely contemptuous. But thenceforward the best and ablest emperors, from M. Aurelius to Diocletian, recognising the independent power of the Church, thought it necessary to persecute it. At last, Julian completely reversed the policy of Titus, seeking to discredit the Gospel by patronage to the Jews. This policy, apparently, will be carried out by Antichrist: but will be baffled when the Jews, whom he has restored to their land as unbelievers, are converted by the martyrdom and resurrection of the two prophets (see notes on the preceding chapter).

17. ἐπὶ τῇ γυναικί...μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτῆς. We have not means for interpreting this description in detail. All we can say certainly is, that it describes the providential foiling of Satanic attempts at the destruction of Israel. Perhaps the most plausible suggestion of a definite meaning of the "flood" [better

translated "river"] is that the Christians of Jerusalem, in their flight to "the mountains" (St Matt. xxiv. 16 &c.) of Pella, were delivered by a miracle or special providence from the dangers of the passage of Jordan: if they fled *immediately* before the siege was formed by Titus, this was just before the Passover, when the river was in flood (Josh. iii. 15). But of such an event we have no historical notice: and it is likely that the Christians fled when they had *first* "seen Jerusalem compassed with armies" (St Luke xxi. 20), in the unsuccessful assault of Cestius Gallus, three years before the fall of the city.

τῶν τηρούντων τὰς ἐντολάς. xiv. 12.

ἐχόντων τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ. vi. 9, xix. 10.

CHAPTER XIII.

1. κέρατα δέκα καὶ κεφαλὰς ἑπτά. Here 1 omits the horns; in the parallel passage xvii. 3 it omits the heads.

2. ἄρκου. Text. Rec. reads *ἄρκτου*, so do some cursives.

λέοντος. Tisch. reads *λεόντων* with ℵ syr. and Victorin.

3. καὶ μίαν. Text. Rec. with vulg. reads *καὶ εἶδον μίαν.*

ἐθαύμασεν. Text. Rec. reads *ἐθαυμάσθη* with A 1 and adds *ἐν* with 1 12, turning *ἡ* into *τῇ*.

5. βλασφημίας. A reads *βλάσφημα*; B_2 *βλασφημίαν*. The first half of the verse is wanting in 1 and in Primasius.

ποιῆσαι. ℵ adds *ὃ θέλει*, B_2 prefixes *πόλεμον*. Dionysius and Iren. int. omit the words.

6. τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. ℵ* substitutes *αὐτὸν*.

καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ. C omits these words. Text. Rec. adds *καὶ* with $ℵ^cB_2{}^*P$ 1.

7. καὶ ἐδόθη...αὐτούς. ACP 1* omit this clause.

8. οὗ...τὸ ὄνομα. Text. Rec. has *ὧν...τὰ ὀνόματα* with ℵP.

10. εἴ τις εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν, εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν ὑπάγει. $ℵB_2CP$ omit the second *εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν*. Primas. *qui captivum duxerit et ipse capietur.* Most MSS. of vulgate, and syr., support Text. Rec. *εἴ τις αἰχμαλωσίαν συνάγει εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν ὑπάγει* which is found in Areth. 1 stops short at *εἴ τις αἰχμ. συνάγει.*

ἀποκτενεῖ, δεῖ. A has *ἀποκτανθῆναι* alone. W. H. suggest *ἀποκτείνειν* or *ἀποκτεῖναι*; ℵ reads *ἀποκτείνει.*

12. ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ. Primas. reads *in terra*; P by a mistake has *ἐνώπιον* for *τὴν γῆν καὶ* in the next clause.

ἵνα προσκυνήσουσιν. ℵ has *προσκυνιν*, i.q. *προσκυνεῖν.*

τοῦ θανάτου. A omits.

13. ἵνα καὶ πῦρ ποιῇ καταβαίνειν. B_2 has *καὶ πῦρ ἵνα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβαίνει.*

14. ποιῆσαι εἰκόνα. A reads *ποιῆσαι εἰκόναν*. ℵ prefixes *καί*.

15. αὐτῷ δοῦναι. ACP* read *αὐτῇ* for *αὐτῷ*. C omits *δοῦναι* as if *τῇ εἰκόνι τοῦ θηρίου* were a gloss on *αὐτῇ*.

ὅσοι. AP read *ἵνα ὅσοι*. Text. Rec. with 1 Areth. inserts *ἵνα* before *ἀποκτανθῶσιν*.

16. δῶσιν αὐτοῖς χάραγμα. 26 and 95 have *λάβωσι τὸ χάραγμα αὐτοῦ*. The Latin versions have *habere*. ℵ* has *αὐτῷ* for *αὐτοῖς*.

17. καὶ ἵνα. So Text. Rec. Treg. and Weiss with ℵ^{c}AB$_{2}$P. Lach. and Tisch. omit (and W. H. bracket) *καὶ* with ℵ* and C.

τὸ χάραγμα, τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θηρίου, ἢ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ with AP. C has *τ. χ. τοῦ ὀνόματος κ.τ.λ.*; ℵ *τὸ χ. τοῦ θ. ἢ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ*; B$_{2}$ *τ. χ. τ. δ. τ. θ. ἢ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ θηρίου ἢ κ.τ.λ.*

18. χξϛ′. C 5 11 and Tyc. still preserve the reading older than St Irenæus *ἑξακόσιαι δέκα ἕξ*.

Ch. XII. 18—XIII. 10. The Beast from the Sea.

18. ἐστάθην. If correct, it would mark the beginning of a new vision, just as Dan. viii. 2, x. 4 begins a vision with a statement of where he saw it. If we read *ἐστάθη*, which was certainly the commonest reading before Andreas, the connexion will be, the dragon departed to make war and he stood on the sand of the sea waiting for the beast to come up to fight his battles. As Tischendorf observes, if chapters xii. and xiii. are to be so closely connected, it becomes an unanswerable question, where is the dragon's throne which is given to the beast; but this is not an unanswerable objection to the best attested reading.

XIII. 1. εἶδον ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης. Dan. vii. 3.

κέρατα δέκα καὶ κεφαλὰς ἑπτά. The ten horns are from Dan. vii. 7. But the beast seen by Daniel seems to have only one head, *v.* 20: and hence some have supposed that this beast is not the same as that, but a combination of all Daniel's four—and that the seven heads are obtained by adding together the four heads of the leopard with the single ones of the other three beasts. But this seems far-fetched: it is better to remember (see on iv. 7) that God is not obliged always to reveal the same truth under the same image. St John's vision was like enough to Daniel's to indicate that it applied to the same thing, but it supplied details which Daniel's did not. For one thing, comparing this description with xii. 3, we learn that this beast has a special likeness to the Devil.

ὀνόματα βλασφημίας. Cf. xvii. 3. Divine honours were paid to every good or even tolerable emperor after his death, and claimed by Gaius, Nero and Domitian in their lifetime: both the tribute and claim were blasphemous: the claim was put forward more violently by Gaius, more persistently by Domitian, whom his subjects had to call "our Lord and our God," to Christian ears a double blasphemy: *Σεβαστός*, the official title of all emperors, sounded like a divine name and was treated as such in Asia, and was therefore blasphemous.

It is uncertain whether the plural implies that each head bore more blasphemous names than one.

2. τὸ θηρίον ὃ εἶδον κ.τ.λ. The fourth beast in Dan. vii. is not described as like any ordinary animal: here he is described as combining the likeness of the other three. We may draw the inference mentioned on *v.* 1, that this beast is not the fourth, but a combination of all four: but on the simpler view the description is not less appropriate. The Rome of St John's day *was* "like unto" a Greek empire, and at the same time embodied elements derived from Babylon and from Persia. And if we watch the "spirit of Antichrist" that is working in our day, we shall see it in the various forms of Hellenic aestheticism, of Persian luxury, and of Chaldean scientific necessarianism. It remains for this spirit to mount the imperial throne of Rome, when he who now letteth is taken out of the way.

καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ ὁ δράκων. It is the Devil's interest and policy to disguise his working under the forms of the world: at present, he has actually persuaded many to disbelieve in his existence.

τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐξουσίαν μεγάλην. For *δύναμιν* and *ἐξουσίαν* see on xii. 10, for *θρόνον* on ii. 13. Antichrist, or the Antichristian empire, bears just the same relation to the Devil as the true Christ to God.

3. καὶ μίαν ἐκ τῶν κεφαλῶν. This of course depends upon *εἶδον* in the first verse; but the ellipse is harsh and most Latin Versions repeat *vidi*.

ὡς ἐσφαγμένην εἰς θάνατον. Comparing xvii. 8, 10, 11, it has been thought that this indicates the *death of Nero* (the reality of which is clearly expressed, xvii. 8, though not here) and his expected reappearance as Antichrist. See notes on ch. xvii. and Introduction, pp. lxiii., lxv., lxvi.

4. τίς ὅμοιος τῷ θηρίῳ; A sort of blasphemous parody of sayings like Ex. xv. 11; Ps. xxxv. 10, lxxi. 19, lxxxix. 8, or of the name Michael, which is by interpretation "Who is like God?"

5. στόμα.... Dan. vii. 8.

ποιῆσαι. This may mean to "spend," so that "to continue" (A.V.) will give the right sense: but perhaps rather, as in Dan. viii. 24, xi. 28, 30, 32, "do" is used absolutely for "do exploits."

μῆνας τεσσεράκοντα δύο. See on xi. 2.

6. τοὺς ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ σκηνοῦντας. The order as in xii. 12 is more like that of ordinary Greek than is usual in this book. The clause must be taken in apposition to *τὴν σκ. αὐτοῦ*. The host of angels are God's Tabernacle, as elsewhere His Camp.

7. καὶ ἐδόθη...αὐτούς. There is considerable authority for the omission of this clause: but the omission is no doubt merely accidental —it was left out in one or more very early copies, because scribes passed from one clause beginning "and there was given unto him" to another. For the sense cf. Dan. vii. 21 and ch. xi. 7: the latter

proves that "the Saints" (i.e. the holy people of God) are to be understood as Christians, not as Israelites.

ἐπὶ πᾶσαν φυλὴν καὶ λαὸν καὶ γλῶσσαν καὶ ἔθνος. See v. 9 n. The Devil gives to Antichrist what he offered to Christ, St Luke iv. 6.

8. **πάντες...οὗ.** The singulars after the plural here are not more difficult than the plurals after the singular in St John xvii. 2 [24]; 1 John v. 16.

ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ ἀρνίου, xxi. 27: see note on v. 1.

ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου. Perhaps in Greek, as in English, it is most natural to connect these words with "slain": and 1 Pet. i. 19, 20 works out what, on this view, would be the sense. But the similar clause xvii. 8 seems to prove that the words are to be taken with "written": it is God's purpose of individual election, not of universal redemption, that is here dated "from the foundation of the world."

9. **εἴ τις κ.τ.λ.** See on ii. 7.

10. **εἴ τις εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν, εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν ὑπάγει.** This is decidedly the best attested reading; and, there being no verb expressed in the first clause, it is a question what verb is to be supplied. This will depend on the sense given to the rest of the sentence, and this on the reading adopted there. If the received text be right (it is, more literally than in the A.V., "if any will kill with the sword, he must be killed with the sword": cf. St Matt. xxvi. 52), its reading in the earlier clause must be accepted as a correct gloss. But there is a reading—not so well attested, and which might have arisen accidentally—"if any to be killed by the sword, [he must]" (one important MS. omits this) "be killed by the sword." Inferior as this reading is in external evidence, it is supported by the parallel with Jer. xv. 2, xliii. 11. We have therefore the choice between the two versions, "If any man [be] for captivity, he goeth into captivity: if any [be] to be slain by the sword, he must be slain by the sword," and that of the A.V. with the word "leadeth" put in italics: and we shall choose between them, according as we think that St John is likelier to have had in his mind the text in Jeremiah or our Lord's saying. Perhaps the former suits the context best—"the patience and the faith of the saints" is to be *shewn* in submitting to death or captivity. But the other view, that their patience and faith is to be *sustained* by remembering the certainty of God's vengeance on their oppressors, is supported by the parallel passage, xiv. 12.

11—16. The Beast from the Land.

11. **ἄλλο θηρίον.** Afterwards called the False Prophet, xvi. 13, xix. 20, xx. 10. Some think that it is he, rather than the first Beast, who is to be identified with St Paul's "Man of Sin," the personal Antichrist—the first Beast being the antichristian Empire. But in xvii. 11 sqq. it seems plain that the seven-headed Beast, who is primarily a polity, at length becomes embodied in a person.

κέρατα δύο. Perhaps *two* only, because that is the natural number

for a lamb the only significance of the number being, that they are *not* seven or ten. Perhaps there is a reference to Dan. viii. 3: as Nero's pride and guilt foreshadowed Antichrist's, so the homage he seemed to receive from a representative of the one great rival empire may have foreshadowed Antichrist's universal sway. It may be noted too, that Tiridates was a Magian who observed the rules of the order on the throne. But the meaning of the Vision is not to be gathered from the events of the time which not improbably coloured its imagery.

ὅμοια ἀρνίῳ...ὡς δράκων. No doubt the obvious view is right, that he *looks* like Christ and *is* like Satan. Alford well compares St Matt. vii. 15—though the resemblance is in the sense, not the language or even the image, so that perhaps there is no conscious reference.

12. ποιεῖ. The sense is, he does all that the Dragon has given the Beast power or authority to do.

ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ. The relation of the False Prophet to the Beast is nearly the same as that of Aaron to Moses, Ex. iv. 16, vii. 9 sqq., or even of a true Prophet to God, 1 Kings xvii. 1.

τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ κατοικοῦντας. See on *v.* 6.

13. καὶ ποιεῖ σημεῖα μεγάλα. St Matt. xxiv. 24; 2 Thess. ii. 9.

ἵνα καὶ πῦρ.... The similarity to 1 Kings xviii., 2 Kings i., is best explained by St Luke ix. 54, 55. To reproduce the acts of Elijah *now* shews the spirit, not of the true Christ, but of the false.

14. πλανᾷ. xix. 20. There is still a reminiscence of St Matt. xxiv. 24.

εἰκόνα. We cannot tell how, or how literally, this prophecy will be fulfilled in the last days: but it is certainly relevant to remember how the refusal of worship to the Emperor's image was made the test of Christianity in the primitive persecutions—perhaps especially by humane and reluctant persecutors like Pliny (see his famous letter to Trajan), who acted not from fanaticism, but from supposed political necessity. And the king-worship of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,—the maxim, earlier acted on than avowed, *cujus regio ejus religio*,—shews us the really Antichristian element in the persecutions of that age. To the ingenious theory, that the second Beast is the Papacy, and "the image of the first Beast" the mediaeval Empire, it is a fatal objection that, though the Popes may be said to have *made* and *vivified* the "Holy Roman Empire," they certainly did not make the world worship it—they might more plausibly be charged with making it worship them.

15. ἐδόθη αὐτῷ δοῦναι. A.V. to avoid the repetition of *give* translates here and above "he had power."

πνεῦμα. Not *πνεῦμα ζωῆς* as in xi. 11, though the sense is practically the same, except that there the *life* is true and blessed, as always in St John.

16. καὶ ποιεῖ resumes the construction of *v.* 14.

ἵνα δῶσιν αὐτοῖς. Is *δῶσιν* impersonal as *λέγουσιν* x. 11, *βλέπωσιν* xvi. 15? but for *αὐτοῖς* we should supply the subject from the previous accusatives.

χάραγμα. Cf. *τὰ στίγματα Ἰησοῦ*, Gal. vi. 17. The image is, as there, that of the brand put upon slaves to identify them; pagan devotees sometimes received such a brand, marking them as the property of their god. In the so-called Third Book of Maccabees (which, stupid as it is, has perhaps some historical foundation) we are told that Ptolemy Philopator ordered the Jews of Alexandria to be branded with an ivy-leaf, the cognisance of Dionysus. One may compare also the sealing of the servants of God in chap. vii., and xiv. 1.

17, 18. The Number of the Name of the Beast.

17. καὶ ἵνα. See crit. note. If *καὶ* be retained, the verb depends on *ποιεῖ* in *v.* 16; if omitted, the clause marks the purpose of the *χάραγμα*.

ἵνα μήτις...πωλήσαι. Such disabilities seem to have been actually imposed, at least in the Diocletian persecution, by requiring business transactions to be preceded by pagan formulas.

τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ. In Hebrew and in Greek, *letters* were used for *numerals*, every letter having its own proper significance as a number. Among the Jews (and to some extent among early Christians, especially heretics) this suggested the possibility of finding numbers mystically corresponding to any word: the numerical value of all the letters might be added together, and the sum would represent the word. This process was called by the Jews *Gematria*, a corruption of the Greek *Geometria*. Ridiculous as were many of the attempts made to find mystical meanings in the words of Scripture by this process, it remains true that a Jew of St John's time would probably mean, by "the number of a name," the number formed by Gematria from its letters: and probably the numerous guesses, from St Irenæus' time to our own, that have been based on this method are so far on the right track. But there are too many that are plausible for any one to be probable. There are in fact an indefinite number of proper names whose letters will amount to 666 (or 616, see below) either in Hebrew or Greek—at least when the names are *neither* Hebrew nor Greek, and so have to be arbitrarily transliterated.

The attempts which are generally thought of most importance are *Λατεινος*, and *Nerôn* (or *Nerô*) *Kêsar*; the latter has the advantage that the alternative Hebrew transliterations of his chief titles give 666 or 616 as we retain or drop the final *n*. Both the solution *Λατεινος* and the reading 616 are as old as St Irenæus, who criticises the latter in a way to suggest that it was already interpreted of Nero. He insists that in a Greek book we should expect the name to be conveyed by the numerical value of Greek letters: he speaks of the reading 616 as due to an 'idiotism'—a mispronunciation such as uneducated persons might fall into—an educated Greek would take care of the final *n*. Völter hardly presses his own objection that Kêsar ought to be written with a Yod between the Koph and the Samech: and

whether Nero were living or dead at the moment of the vision it was equally dangerous to name him plainly. If he were alive it was treason against him to say he was the beast, if he were dead it was treason against the reigning emperor to say Nero would come back from the dead. Völter's own ingenious solution—Trajanus Hadrianus —which gives either 666 or 616 also in Hebrew, cannot stand apart from his general theory of the book. If 616 were otherwise probable, it could be read of Gaius. *ἑχιδνα* gives the right number and might be referred to Nero as a matricide, for the viper's birth was supposed to be fatal to the mother, and the three letters might be arranged as a rough outline of a snake. No other name (Genseric, Mohammed, and even Napoleon, have been tried with more or less violence) has any real chance of being right. Failing *Λατεινος* and Kêsar Nerôn, we may be pretty certain it will not be discovered till Antichrist appears: and then believers will be able to recognise him by this token.

18. ὁ ἔχων νοῦν ψηφισάτω. "The terms of the challenge serve at once to show that the feat proposed is possible, and that it is difficult." (Alford.)

ἀριθμὸς γὰρ ἀνθρώπου ἐστίν. Comparing xxi. 17, it appears that these words mean "is reckoned simply by an ordinary human method."

χξϛ′. The reading χιϛ′ is ancient, but certainly wrong: and it is not impossible that the repetition (which must strike every one in the *words*, though the Greek *figures* do not suggest it like the Arabic) of the number 6 is significant: it approximates to, but falls short of, the sacred 7. Certainly we get no help by referring to 1 Kings x. 14—where the number is probably arrived at by calculating that Solomon got 2000 talents every *three* years: cf. *v.* 22.

CHAPTER XIV.

1. τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ καὶ. Text. Rec. omits these words with P 1.

γεγραμμένον. A has *τὸ γεγ.*, 1 And. com. *καιόμενον*.

3. ᾄδουσιν ὡς. Tisch. omits *ὡς* with ℵB$_2$P.

καινήν. ℵ adds *και ην*, *ην* being in the first hand above the line.

τέσσαρες. ℵ* has *μίαν*, reading A′ for Δ′; C omits.

4. οὐκ ἐμολύνθησαν. One MS of Primas. reads *non inquinaverunt vestimenta sua*, which is supported by Tert. Hieron.

ἀπαρχή. ℵ and Primas. read *ἀπ' ἀρχῆς*.

καὶ τῷ ἀρνίῳ. ℵ* has *καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀ.*

5. ψεῦδος. Text. Rec. has *δόλος* with 1.

ἄμωμοι γάρ εἰσιν. Lachmann omits *γὰρ* with ACP; and Text. Rec. adds *ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου* with mediæval vulgate.

6. ἐπὶ τοὺς καθημένους. Text. Rec. omits *ἐπὶ* with B$_2$ and substitutes *κατοικοῦντας* for *καθ.* with A. 1 36 add *τοὺς κατ.* after *τοὺς καθ.*

7. **λέγων.** ℵ omits. Text. Rec. has λέγοντα with 1.

Φοβήθητε. Cyp. Primas. add *potius*, which must refer to the worship of the Beast.

καὶ θάλασσαν. Tisch. inserts *τὴν* with ℵB$_2$: 36 and the old Latin (Primas.) and many forms of vulgate omit *καὶ*.

8. **δεύτερος ἄγγελος.** Tisch. has ἄγγ. δεύτ. with ℵ^c and C (*δεύτερον*) and P. ℵ* omits ἄγγελος and everything from ἔπεσεν (pr.) to λέγων.

τοῦ θυμοῦ. 1 96 Tyc. omit.

πεπότικεν. Tyc. read *πέπωκαν* as in xviii. 3; ℵ^c 12 Primas. *πέπτωκαν*; the latter copied Tyconius without noticing the difference of text.

9. **αὐτοῖς.** A and Primas. read *αὐτῷ*.

θηρίον. A has *θυσιαστήριον*.

10. **ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ τῆς ὀργῆς.** A has *ἐκ τοῦ ποτηρίου τὴν ὀργήν*.

βασανισθήσεται. A has *βασανισθήσονται*.

ἀγγέλων ἁγίων. A has *τῶν ἀγγέλων*, B$_2$ and Text. Rec. *τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων*.

14. **καὶ εἶδον.** ℵ omits.

καθήμενον ὅμοιον. Text. Rec. has *καθήμενος ὅμοιος* with 1 7 49 91.

υἱῷ. Tisch. and W. H. read *υἱὸν* with ℵAB$_2$; P has *υἱοῦ*, 1 *υἱός*.

ἔχων. ℵ* has *ἔχοντα*, ℵ^{c}C *ἔχον*.

16. **ἐθερίσθη ἡ γῆ.** Cod. flor. *demensus est terram.*

18. **ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου.** Primas. omits. Lach. omits *ἐξῆλθεν* with A.

ἔχων. Lach. reads *ὁ ἔχων* with AC.

φωνῇ. Text. Rec. has *κραυγῇ* with C.

19. **τὴν ληνὸν...τὸν μέγαν.** 1 has *τὸν ληνόν*. Text. Rec. has *τὴν μεγάλην* with ℵ.

20. **ἔξωθεν.** Text. Rec. has *ἔξω* with ℵ 1.

Ch. XIV. 1—5. The Lamb upon Mount Sion.

1. **τὸ ἀρνίον.** Of course the same as in chap. v.

ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος Σιών. Probably the earthly one—the heavenly Jerusalem of chap. xxi. has not yet appeared. And in xi. 7, 8 we had an intimation that the Seer's gaze was now directed to Jerusalem: Babylon, though *mentioned* in *v.* 8, is not *seen* till chap. xvii.

ἑκατὸν τεσσεράκοντα τέσσαρες χιλιάδες. Cf. vii. 4.

τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ. Notice that it is assumed as understood that the Lamb is the Son of God. See notes on iii. 12, vii. 3.

2. **ὡς φωνὴν ὑδάτων πολλῶν.** This marks the volume of the sound.

βροντῆς μεγάλης. This marks its loudness.

ὡς κιθαρῳδῶν κιθαριζόντων. This marks that it was articulate and sweet: the harpers sing as they play.

3. ᾄδουσιν ὡς ᾠδήν. The *ὡς* is perhaps mechanically inserted from the former clauses, it is not found in v. 9. Naturally we should suppose the subject of *ᾄδουσιν* to be the harpers whom St John seems to hear without seeing: yet how can they be angels when we are told that only the ransomed of earth can learn the new song? If the hundred forty and four thousand are heard singing the new song in heaven and seen drawn up in battle array on Mount Sion (on the ruins of the holy city? see on xii. 1—6), the vision at this point becomes very like a dream.

4. παρθένοι. The first instance of the use of the word as a masculine substantive. It was adopted in ecclesiastical language, and applied e.g. to St John himself. It is best to understand the word literally. St Matt. xix. 12; 1 Cor. vii. prove, on any fair interpretation, that a devout and unselfish celibacy gives special means for serving God, and so we need not be surprised to learn here that it has a special reward from Him. No disparagement of holy matrimony is implied. Marriage is lowered by the Fall from what God meant it to be (Gen. iii. 16), and so, like other things which God made very good, has its own evils and dangers; but it does not follow that it is here conceived as in any sense defilement—they who are virgins *à fortiori* are "not defiled with women." It is noticeable that we owe to the two celibate Apostles the highest consecration of marriage, see Eph. v. 23—33, and the last two chapters of this book.

ἀπαρχή. This seems to imply, as is required by the view that "virgins" strictly speaking are meant, that the 144,000 do not represent the *whole* number of the Elect, but a specially sanctified number from among them. See on vii. 4.

5. ἄμωμοι γάρ εἰσιν. Here, if *γὰρ* be retained, the argument, as in *v.* 4, is that the higher degree of perfection includes and guarantees the lower: if *γὰρ* be omitted, *ἄμωμοί εἰσιν* would be the inference from their perfect truth, not a proof of it. Cf. St James iii. 2.

6, 7. The Angel with the Everlasting Gospel.

6. ἄλλον ἄγγελον. Different from the many mentioned before, *perhaps* especially distinguished from the one who appears in ch. x., but see *v.* 17, xviii. 1, where such a reference is hardly possible.

ἐν μεσουρανήματι. See on viii. 13.

εὐαγγέλιον αἰώνιον. It is true that these words have not the article, but neither has "[the] Gospel of God" in Rom. i. 1. Even if, therefore, the grammatical usage of this book were more regular than it is, it would be needless to translate "an eternal piece of good news," in which, moreover, it would be hard to find a sense for the epithet. No doubt "gospel" is used in its constant N.T. sense; and the gospel is called "everlasting," as declaring the eternal truth of God. The preaching of the Gospel here stands in the same relation to God's Judgement as in St Matt. xxiv. 14. But notice, that the name is

applied to the *whole* truth of God, not to what was revealed by Christ only: for the substance of the angel's message is pure natural theism. Hence some infer a distinction between the "Gospel of the Kingdom" preached to Israel during a limited "Day of Visitation," and the "Everlasting Gospel" proclaimed to all nations till the end of the world.

εὐαγγελίσαι. See on x. 7.

ἐπὶ τοὺς καθημένους ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. The phrase is only found here and is suggested by the picture of men sitting on the ground while the angel flies overhead.

7. λέγων. See on iv. 1.

δότε αὐτῷ δόξαν. See on xi. 13.

ὅτι ἦλθεν ἡ ὥρα τῆς κρίσεως αὐτοῦ is not at variance with *αἰώνιον*: the Gospel is to be preached *ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος*.

θάλασσαν might easily have had the article, which would be less natural with *πηγὰς ὑδάτων*: cf. viii. 3, 10, xvi. 3, 4.

8—11. Angels of Warning.

8. ἔπεσεν ἔπεσεν. Is. xxi. 9.

Βαβυλὼν ἡ μεγάλη, as in xvii. 5. See also xviii. 10, 18 and 21 where we have "Babylon *the* great city," "*the* great city" (meaning Babylon), and "*the* great city Babylon." The omission of city here makes the presumption less that "the great city" of xi. 8, xvi. 19 is the same.

ἐκ τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ θυμοῦ τῆς πορνείας. If the text be right, and if it be impossible to regard *θυμοῦ* as representing the Hebrew word translated "provocation," 2 Kings xxiii. 26, there is a blending of two views. Babylon makes the nations drink of the cup of her fornication; and she is made, and they are made with her (at first perhaps by her), to drink of the cup of God's wrath: *v.* 10, xvi. 19. In xviii. 6 as in Jer. li. 7, from which the image is taken, there is, as probably here, a combination of the two.

10. καὶ αὐτός. He, like Babylon; his fear of the Beast will not excuse him.

πίεται ἐκ τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ θυμοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ. Ps. lxxv. 8 (9); Is. li. 17, 22; Jer. xxv. 15 sqq.

κεκερασμένου ἀκράτου. Lit. "mixed unmixed": there is prob. nothing meant but the sense of the A.V. "poured out unmixed," the "pouring out" of wine being *usually* a process of "mixing." But the paradoxical form of expression comes from the LXX. of Ps. lxxv. 8, where the word "red" (or perhaps "foaming," "fiery") is translated by "unmixed," proving that St John knows and uses the LXX. version, though not exclusively dependent on it.

ἐν πυρὶ καὶ θείῳ. Probably the preposition has the same Hebraistic sense as in phrases like *ἐν μαχαίρῃ, ἐν τῇ ῥομφαίᾳ*; though the ordinary Greek sense would be possible here. See xix. 20, xx. 15, xxi. 8.

ἐνώπιον...ἀρνίου. Only one translation of these words is possible: they prove that the holy angels, and the Lamb Himself, acquiesce or something more in the justice and necessity of God's awful judgements. This being so, we dare not give weight to sentimental or *à priori* arguments against their possibility, though to our present faculties God's future treatment of sin may be as hard to reconcile with His known attributes as His permission of its origin in the past. We are *forced* to pass over the one difficulty: faith and humility will pass over the other.

12. ὧδε ἡ ὑπομονὴ τῶν ἁγίων ἐστίν. See xiii. 10 and end of note there. Knowing the terrors of the Lord they endure the terrors of the Beast.

οἱ τηροῦντες. For the nom. see on ii. 13, 20.

13—30. BLESSING ON THE FAITHFUL DEAD, AND THE HARVEST AND THE VINTAGE OF THE EARTH.

13. γράψον. See on x. 4.

μακάριοι οἱ νεκροί. Two questions arise as to this verse, though its touching associations make us unwilling to raise questions about it. What is its relevance *here*? and why are the holy dead blessed "*from henceforth*"?—i.e. probably, from the time foreshadowed by the last part of the Vision. One answer to both probably is suggested by the reference to Is. lvii. 1, 2, that in those days a holy death will be the only escape from persecution and temptation, which "if it were possible should seduce even the Elect." Not only "for the Elect's sake the days shall be shortened," but even before they end, one and another of the Elect will be delivered from them. Even now it is a matter of thanksgiving when a Christian is delivered by death "from the miseries of this wretched world, from the body of death, and from all temptation," and much more then, when temptation is so much sorer that no Saint can dare wish to abide in the flesh. This seems better than supposing that the special blessedness of the dead of those days consists only in the interval being shorter before their "perfect consummation and bliss." At the same time it is probably intended that the faithful dead are "henceforth" more perfectly blessed than those who fell asleep before the Advocate had been taken up and the Accuser cast down.

ναί· λέγει τὸ πνεῦμα. The Spirit in the Church and in the Seer bears witness to the Voice from Heaven.

ἵνα ἀναπήσονται. They die in order to their rest. For the ellipse, cf. St Joh. i. 8, xiii. 18; 1 Joh. ii. 19. The future expresses that their rest is the sure result as well as the providential end of their dying.

ἐκ τῶν κόπων αὐτῶν. They rest from their labours, not from their works; for these are their treasure in heaven. The distinction between *κόποι* and *ἔργα* is almost in the manner of the Fourth Gospel, cf. Intr. p. xxxviii. On the whole verse cf. Matt. xi. 28, *Δεῦτε πρός με πάντες οἱ κοπιῶντες...κἀγὼ ἀναπαύσω ὑμᾶς.*

τὰ γὰρ ἔργα αὐτῶν ἀκολουθεῖ μετ' αὐτῶν. For their works follow with them: there is therefore hardly any resemblance to 1 Tim. v. 24, 25. The meaning of the passage is much the same as 1 Thess. iv. 15—we are not to think of the holy dead as if they missed (and as if the dead of the last days *only just* missed) the glories of the Lord's coming: for they and their good works are kept by Him safe against that day, ready to share in its glories.

14—20. There are two difficulties in these verses: one is, are they a vision of the Last Judgement? the other, is the Reaper Christ the Lord? The first is not the hardest: if we suppose the visions to have been seen at intervals, it would disappear altogether, for it is clear that if so, chaps. xiii., xiv. if not xii.—xiv., are a whole in themselves, of which xv. 2—4 are the epilogue: even if chaps. iv.—xxii. are the record of a single ecstasy, it would still be true that each of its stages seems to close with a glimpse of the end, which afterwards is more fully revealed (see on vi. 12 and parallels). Apart from this, the order in which the visions succeed each other, though doubtless always significant, cannot be pressed as marking in all cases the chronological succession of the events foreshewn. xi. 7 in some sense anticipates the events of chap. xiii., while chap. xii. goes back to events earlier, probably, than any others indicated in the book. In this chapter itself we have in *v.* 8 an anticipation of chap. xviii. We need not therefore hesitate to suppose that here we have an anticipation of chap. xx. And a vision of the Last Judgement might be fitly interposed here to encourage "the patience of the Saints" that is to be so sorely tried. But if the Harvest here too is the End of the World, must not the Reaper be Christ? He is seen sitting on a cloud: is it not He Who comes with the clouds, i. 7? He is like a Son of Man: is it not He Who in the same likeness walks in the midst of the Seven Golden Candlesticks? It is no difficulty that He waits for God's word to thrust in the sickle: so far Alford's reference to Acts i. 7 is relevant, see also St John v. 19, 30; but this does not meet the difficulty that the word is sent to Him by an Angel out of the unseen depths of the heavenly temple. Not to quote the parable of the tares, where the Son of Man Himself sends forth His Angels to reap, how are we to harmonise such a representation with the homage paid by the Angels to the Lamb, Who has prevailed to open the Book with the Seven Seals, on which they are not able so much as to look? Then again, if the Reaper be Christ, what of the Angel with the sickle who gathers the clusters of the vine of earth, and casts them into a winepress that, it seems, a multitude of horsemen tread? The Rider of the White Horse, in chap. xix., has trodden the winepress alone on earth: that is why He rides in blood-dipt raiment at the head of the white-robed armies of heaven. Tyconius seems to have turned the difficulty by applying his rule that what is said of Christ may be understood of His Body the Church, which may certainly be enlightened by angels in her office of judging the world. If so, the figure of the Son of Man would come back to its primary sense in Daniel, where it certainly symbolises the whole body of the Saints of the Most High. If this be unsatisfactory, we must choose between putting

on the words, "one like unto the (or 'a,' see on i. 13) Son of Man," the gloss "An Angel in the likeness of the Messiah" (which in view of *vv.* 17—20 is not impossible, though difficult), and supposing that the Seer is reproducing in some measure the language of Jewish apocalypses without being led to supply their shortcomings. In the former case we should also have to suppose that one of God's typical and anticipatory judgements is described in terms suitable to the last. Then it might be possible that the Reaping was suggested by the first stage of the Jewish War, and the Vintage by the second and more terrible, of which the scene was Jerusalem: as Nero, seen spiritually, bore the likeness of the Beast, Vespasian, or "his angel," may have borne the likeness of a son of man.

14. εἶδον, καὶ ἰδού. The first accounts for the accusative *καθήμενον*, the second for the nominative *νεφέλη*.

ἔχων. Here, as often, a participle seems to take the place of a finite verb.

στέφανον χρυσοῦν. There is no other instance of a crowned Angel in this book; for the Rider on the White Horse in chap. vi. is probably the spiritual form of an earthly conqueror.

δρέπανον ὀξύ. The image of the harvest, combined with that of the vintage, is from Joel iii. 13. See however St Matt. xiii. 36 sqq.

15. ἄλλος ἄγγελος. It is probably not relevant to argue that in classical Greek this would not necessarily imply that the previously named Person is an Angel, even if "another" is meant to distinguish the Angel from him. But comparing *v.* 6, it appears that the angel may be called "another" simply to distinguish him from those of *vv.* 6, 8, 9: and then no decisive inference can be drawn as to the figure of *v.* 14.

ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ. See xi. 19 and note on iv. 6.

πέμψον. Lit. "send," cf. *ἀποστέλλει*, St Mark iv. 29. It *may* be implied here, as it probably *is* in St Mark, that the Son of Man does not reap Himself, cf. St Matt. xxiv. 31. See on the next verse.

ἐξηράνθη. Lit. "is dried," hence R.V. "is over-ripe":—*possibly* a more literal translation than St Mark's account of our Lord's words in the parable, to which there is probably a reference.

16. ἔβαλεν. Lit. "cast": but the word is used in much milder senses, e.g. of the Lord "putting" His fingers in the deaf man's ears, St Mark vii. 33. The A.V. rendering "thrust" can therefore be defended: but it is also possible that He Who sat on the cloud *threw down* the sickle, for others (unnamed angels) to reap with.

ἐθερίσθη ἡ γῆ. Comparing the parables in SS. Matthew and Mark there is little doubt that the gathering the harvest indicates or includes the gathering of the Elect. In Jer. li. 33, it is true, the image of harvest is used of the time of God's *vengeance*, and so Joel iii. 13, where, as here, it is combined with that of the vintage. But it would be pointless to have the two images successively worked out, if they meant exactly the same: while the *vengeance* of the other image is

clearly defined in *vv.* 19, 20, and there is nothing (like the *threshing* of Jer., l.c.) to indicate it here.

17. ἄλλος ἄγγελος. It is a possible view that he gathers the grapes for the Reaper to tread.

18. ἔχων ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ τοῦ πυρός. See crit. note. The rendering of A.V. "which had power over fire" leads us to understand an elemental Angel, like "the Angel of the Waters" in xvi. 5. This is not impossible: the word "fire" has the article, but in Greek "the element of fire" would be naturally so expressed. It may therefore be that "the Angel of Fire" is made to invoke the judgement on the wicked which will be executed by fire. But it is easiest to understand that this is the Angel "who had power over *the* fire" on the Altar: perhaps therefore the Angel whom we have already heard of, viii. 3—5, the rather that an angel with this title is found in Rabbinical literature.

τρύγησον. See on *v.* 15: here it can hardly mean that the Angel is to commit his sickle to others.

19. ἔβαλεν. "Cast" as in *v.* 16; but here the Angel himself plainly gathers as well, he does not merely supply the instrument for gathering.

τὴν ληνὸν τὸν μέγαν. Is. lxiii. 2, 3; Lam. i. 13. The masculine is probably most simply explained by a reminiscence of the LXX. Gen. xxx. 38, 41. Tyconius thought that "the mighty" was cast into the winepress. Weiss holds that God's great wrath is itself the winepress.

20. τῆς πόλεως. Probably Jerusalem, see on *v.* 1.

αἷμα. Is. lxiii. 3.

ἄχρι τῶν χαλινῶν τῶν ἵππων. Literally, "even unto the bridles of the horses" though no horses are mentioned in the context. Probably the A.V. rendering "even unto the horse bridles," which implies that the words are meant as a mere measure, that any horseman riding there finds his horse bridle-deep in blood, is right: but some think of the horsemen of God's avenging army in xix. 14. There can hardly be a reference to the horses of chap. vi. or of ix. 17.

ἀπό, i.e. at a distance of: the construction is common in late Greek, e.g. Diodorus and Plutarch, but only found in the New Testament here, and in the fourth Gospel, xi. 18, xxi. 8.

σταδίων χιλίων ἑξακοσίων. 200 Roman miles, or about 183 English. It is hardly likely that it is meant that the blood covered a space of 40 furlongs *square*: more probably, that it extended 1600 (or perhaps 800) in every direction from the city, or perhaps the river of blood flows to that distance. It has been imagined that the distance specified stands for the length of Palestine, which is estimated by St. Jerome at 160 Roman miles, by modern surveys at about 140 English.

CHAPTER XV.

2. ἐκ τοῦ θηρίου καὶ ἐκ τῆς εἰκόνος αὐτοῦ. B_2 reads *ἐκ τῆς εἰκόνος καὶ ἐκ τοῦ θηρίου αὐτοῦ*. Text. Rec. adds *καὶ ἐκ τοῦ χαράγματος αὐτοῦ* with 1.

καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ. Primas. and cod. flor. omit. [Cyp.] Test. III. 20 has *victores bestiae et imaginis et numeri nominis ejus* CXLIIII *stantes* &c.

3. τῶν ἐθνῶν. ℵ*C have *αἰώνων*. Text. Rec. has *ἁγίων*, a retranslation of a misread compendium *sctorum* for *scbrum*.

4. ὅσιος. B_2 reads *ἅγιος*.

πάντα τὰ ἔθνη. B_2 reads *πάντες*.

ὅτι τὰ δικαιώματά σου ἐφανερώθησαν. ℵ reads *ὅτι δικαιώμ. ἐνώπιόν σου ἐφαν.*

6. λίνον καθαρόν. So Text. Rec., Tisch. and Weiss with P; Lach. Treg. W. H. (text) read *λίθον καθαρὸν* with AC am. fu., ℵ Primas. cod. flor. have *καθαροὺς λίνους*. W. H. suggest *λινοῦν* with B_2.

7. ἓν ἑκ. ℵ 1 omit *ἕν*.

ἑπτὰ φιάλας. ℵ fu. omit *ἑπτά*.

Chaps. XV. XVI. The Seven Vials.

1. ἄλλο σημεῖον. Besides those of xii. 1, 3. Here preparation is made (as in viii. 2) for another sevenfold series of visions. Some have attempted to see a sevenfold series in the three preceding chapters: its elements being the successively appearing figures of the Woman, the Dragon, the Man Child, Michael, the Beast, the False Prophet, and the Lamb. But this seems rather far fetched: at any rate, it is not likely to have been consciously present to St John's mind.

πληγὰς ἑπτὰ τὰς ἐσχάτας. Literally "seven plagues, the last," the fact that "in them is filled up [or rather "fulfilled, finished"] the wrath of God" is given as the reason why these plagues are the last.

2—4. The Triumph of the Victors over the Beast.

It seems that here we have a vision of what follows the judgement on the Beast and Babylon, announced in chap. xiv. 8—11; as in chap. vii. 9—17 we have a vision of what follows the Great Tribulation announced, but only announced, at the end of chap. vi.

2. θάλασσαν ὑαλίνην μεμιγμένην πυρί. Probably describes an optical appearance much like that of xxi. 18, 21. It gives no reason for doubting that this is the same sea of glass as in iv. 6: it is not till now that the Seer's attention is specially directed to it, and he now describes it in more detail than before.

τοὺς νικῶντας ἐκ. Cf. ὁ *νικῶν* in chaps. ii. iii. Lit. "them that overcome from," R.V. "come victorious from," the victors (the present, like οἱ *προσκυνοῦντες* "the worshippers" xiv. 11, rather excludes than marks time) have fought their way clear of all those dangers and temptations.

ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν. Perhaps literally, for "a sea of glass" would of course be a solid support; or if not, they might walk upon the sea like their Lord, sustained by faith. But perhaps no more is meant than when we speak of a town lying "*on* the sea": this is supported by the fact that Israel sung the song of Moses on the *shore*, after their passage. And the preposition, though naturally translated "on," is the same as in the phrase "stand *at* the door" in iii. 20.

κιθάρας. As v. 8, xiv. 2: though the harpers here are not the same as in the first place, and perhaps not as in the second.

3. τὴν ᾠδὴν Μωϋσέως. Ex. xv.—the song of God's redeemed people, delivered from their enemies, and confident of coming, *but not come yet*, "unto the rest and to the inheritance which the Lord their God doth give unto them." There is probably no allusion to their coming from the "Red Sea" of martyrdom: that is a pretty conceit, but below the dignity of prophecy.

τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ. Ex. xiv. 31 is particularly referred to; but also in Num. xii. 7; Josh. i. 1, 2, 7, 13, 15, xxii. 5; Ps. cv. 26 "the servant of the Lord" is used as a special honourable title of Moses: cf. Heb. iii. 5.

τὴν ᾠδὴν τοῦ ἀρνίου. For the Lamb has redeemed them, as Moses redeemed Israel. "The song of the Lamb" is not a *different* song from "the song of Moses," but the same interpreted in a higher sense: well illustrated by the Christian use of Ps. cxiv., and the other Passover Psalms, in our Easter services.

Μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστά. There *may* be references to Ps. cxi. 2, cxxxix. 14, cxlv. 17: but this psalm rather continues the spirit of those than combines their words. It is noticeable that this song, almost alone of those occurring in this book, has the *parallelism* or quasi-metrical structure of Hebrew poetry.

ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν ἐθνῶν. See crit. note. The thought is the same as in chap. xi. 15, 17. God, Who of old sanctified to Himself a peculiar people, has now taken the heathen also for His heritage. The expression here and in the following clause (which fixes the sense and the text) is taken from Jer. x. 7.

4. This verse proves that *vv.* 2—4 are originally rather the epilogue to chap. xiv. than part of the introduction to chap. xvi. There we are told again and again that the seven last plagues only lead to blasphemy, here the victors exult in a judgement which convinces all. See Rom. iii. 19; Phil. ii. 11; Ex. vii. 3, and viii. 15 &c. It is better with Westcott and Hort to put the note of interrogation after ὅσιος: the connexion is, Who dares withhold his worship from the one

righteous God? Who can withhold it when every nation is subdued to His worship by the manifestation of His Almighty Power in righteous acts?

ὅσιος. Not the same word (ἅγιος) as is applied to God in iv. 8 &c., but ordinarily used of human piety or holiness—and in that sense applied to our Lord, in His human character, in Heb. vii. 26. It is only used of God here and in xvi. 5 (the true text): in both places the sense is that God is "justified in His saying and clear when He is judged." Here it may also be meant that in this none of the gods is like unto Him, cf. Ps. lxxxii. 1.

πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἥξουσιν. Ps. lxxxvi. 9; Is. lxvi. 23.

δικαιώματα. Righteous acts, as in xix. 8. The word only occurs four times besides in the plural in the New Testament: Rom. ii. 26 and in a slightly different sense Luke i. 6, Heb. ix. 1, 10.

5—8. The Preparation for the Last Plagues.

Here the description of the vision announced in *v.* 1 begins, though the Seer still anticipates, see on *v.* 6: for the relation of *vv.* 1 and 5, see on xii. 14.

5. ἠνοίγη. No translation seems to connect *ἠνοίγη* directly with *ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ*, and the connexion is less in the style of the Book than the ordinary connexion *ὁ ναὸς ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ*, though the former might be supported here by the parallel in the next verse *ἐξῆλθον...ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ*.

ὁ ναὸς τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ μαρτυρίου ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. For *ὁ ναὸς* see xi. 19; for *τῆς σκηνῆς του μαρτυρίου* the one New Testament parallel is Acts vii. 44; cf. Ex. xxvii. 21; Num. i. 50 &c. It is not clear whether we are to translate the temple of the heavenly tabernacle, or the heavenly temple of the tabernacle. To say that the holy place of the heavenly tabernacle is opened, is to say no more than that the heavenly tabernacle is opened. Possibly, as we are told that not only the Ark, but the Tabernacle which Moses made according to the pattern shewed unto him in the Mount, was brought up into Solomon's Temple, it may be meant here that the heavenly Temple contains the archetype of the earthly tabernacle. In any case the Tabernacle is mentioned because its origin was more directly divine than that of the Temple. Compare 1 Chron. xxviii. 19; Ex. xxv. 40, xxvi. 30.

6. οἱ ἔχοντες. The phrase describes their office: we see in the next verse that they did not come out having them.

ἐνδεδυμένοι λίνον καθαρὸν λαμπρόν. See crit. note for the evidence for *λίθον*. If this strange reading be right, the nearest parallel is Ezek. xxviii. 13—where comparing the next two verses, it seems as though the human "king of Tyrus" were identified with a fallen Angel, perhaps the patron of the city. Therefore these holy Angels *may* be here described as clothed in glory like his before his fall. In choosing between the alternative readings, little weight is due to the fact that in other Greek prose *λίνον* means flax, not linen, less to the

probability that most writers would have preferred the plural to the singular. It may have a little weight that white linen, xix. 8, is itself a splendid dress, and that golden girdles would be more in place on it than on robes jewelled all over. On the other hand, everywhere else in this Book linen is *βύσσινον*.

περὶ τὰ στήθη. As in i. 13, where see note.

7. φιάλας. See on v. 8.

8. καπνοῦ. Is. vi. 4.

οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο. Ex. xl. 35; 1 Kings viii. 11.

CHAPTER XVI.

2. κακὸν καὶ πονηρόν. ℵ* *πονηρὸν καὶ κακόν*. A omits *κακόν*.

3. ὁ δεύτερος. Text. Rec. adds *ἄγγελος* here and throughout. Here it is supported by B_2 and most cursives, at 4 by 1, at 8 by ℵ 1, at 10 by 1 And. cop. arm., at 12 by And. cop. arm. old Lat. and cursives, at 17 by ℵc1 And. cop. arm. old Latin.

ζωῆς is omitted by Primas. Text. Rec. has *ζῶσα* with ℵB_2P 1.

5. ἀγγέλου. Primas. *angelos* or *angelorum*.

ὁ ὅσιος. So Tisch. [W. H.] and Weiss with ℵP; Lach. and Treg. omit *ὁ* with AB_2C; cop. æth. omit both words. Text. Rec. reads with 1 and Primas. *καὶ ὁ ὅσιος*.

6. αἷμα. Tisch. reads *αἵματα* with ℵ, a Hebraism.

ἔδωκας. So Text. Rec. and Tisch., Treg. and W. H. (marg.) with ℵB_2P; Lach., Treg., W. H. (text) and Weiss read *δέδωκας* with AC.

πεῖν with A, C (*πιν*). Text. Rec. reads *πιεῖν* with all other MSS.

ἄξιοί εἰσιν. ℵ has *ὅπερ ἄξιοί εἰσιν*, am. *ut digni sunt*.

7. τοῦ θυσι. B_2 1 read *ἐκ τοῦ θ.*, 36 *φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ θ.* Primas. has *aliam vocem dicentem*, am. *alterum dicens*, a mistake for (?) *altare dicens*. Vg. has *alterum ab altari dicentem* which explains Text. Rec. *ἄλλου ἐκ τοῦ θυ.*

9. τὸ ὄνομα. A reads *ἐνώπιον*.

11. Primas. omits; Beatus quotes as follows (? from Tyc.) *et comedebant linguas suas a doloribus suis, blasphemantes ex ira Dei, et paenitentiam non egerunt.*

ἐκ τῶν πόνων αὐτῶν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἑλκῶν αὐτῶν. ℵ omits the second half of the clause. Cop. reads *et per opera sua*.

ἐκ τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν. ℵ omits.

12. τῶν βασιλέων. Tyc.? (ap. Aug. Ap.) omits *βασιλέων* and translates *eorum*. Primas. and Commodian read *venienti regi*.

13. εἶδον. ℵ reads *ἐδόθη*.

ἐκ...δράκοντος, καὶ...θηρίου. C omits the first clause, ℵ* both.

14. δαιμονίων. Text. Rec. reads *δαιμόνων* with 1 and And.?

ἃ ἐκπορεύεται. Text. Rec. reads *ἐκπορεύεσθαι* with ℵ* 1*.

15. ἔρχομαι. ℵ* Primas. read *ἔρχεται.*

17. ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ, ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου. ℵ has *ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ.* Text. Rec. with B_2 *ἀπὸ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου.*

18. ἀστραπαὶ καὶ φωναὶ καὶ βρονταί. Text. Rec. reads *φων. καὶ βρ. καὶ ἀστ.* with 1; ℵ* reads *βρ. καὶ ἀστ. καὶ φ. καὶ βρ.*; B_2 omits *καὶ βρονταί.*

σεισμὸς ἐγένετο. B_2 and Primas. omit *ἐγένετο.* Primas. has for *ἐγένετο...οὕτω μέγας et signa magna.*

ἄνθρωπος ἐγένετο. Text. Rec. *οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐγένοντο* with 1. ℵB_2 *ἄνθρωποι ἐγένοντο.*

21. ἡ πληγὴ αὐτῆς. Vg. omits these words. B_2 omits *αὐτῆς.*

Ch. XVI. 1, 2. The First Vial.

1. φωνῆς μεγάλης. It is not expressly said that the voice is the voice of God: it speaks of Him in the third person, cf. Gen. xxii. 16. Perhaps the Seer intends us to notice the pure inaccessible spirituality of the Godhead. Cf. St John v. 27.

εἰς τὴν γῆν. Lit., "into the earth," here and in the next verse. Here "the earth" seems to mean the lower world generally, there the dry land only.

2. ἀπῆλθεν. Lit. "went away," from the Angels' place in Heaven before the Temple to the *edge* or "window" whence they can look down upon the earth.

ἕλκος κακὸν καὶ πονηρόν. The plagues that accompany these vials have a close analogy to those of the trumpets in ch. viii. sqq., and, like them, have some to the plagues of Egypt: here cf. Ex. ix. 9. The epithets need not mean more than "bad and evil." "Noisome and grievous" A.V. points out the distinction if one is intended.

τοὺς ἔχοντας. This refers back to the previous vision, xiv. 9—11, as in ix. 4 we have a reference to the previous vision, vii. 3.

3. The Second Vial.

3. ὁ δεύτερος, without *ἄγγελος,* as in 4, 8, 10, 12, 17. This is a contrast to the vision of the Trumpets.

αἷμα ὡς νεκροῦ. Lit., "blood as it were of a dead man," and so more foul and horrible. See Ex. vii. 17 sqq., esp. 21. Compare in this Book ch. viii. 8; but here the plague has a wider reach.

πᾶσα ψυχὴ ζωῆς. Cf. *ὃ ἔχει ψυχὴν ζωῆς,* Gen. i. 30.

4—7. The Third Vial.

4. εἰς τοὺς ποταμοὺς καὶ τὰς πηγὰς τῶν ὑδάτων, viii. 10, see on xiv. 7.

5. τοῦ ἀγγέλου τῶν ὑδάτων. Here at least there is no question (see on vii. 1, xiv. 18) that we have an elemental Angel; see Exc. I.

ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν. Without ὁ ἐρχόμενος, as in xi. 17. A.V. "Which art and wast *and shalt be*," a noteworthy *translator's* error.

ὁ ὅσιος, see on xv. 4. If the article be inserted we have two Divine Names, the Eternal, the Holy; if it be omitted we have an interesting parallelism:

> Righteous art Thou the Eternal,
> Holy for this Thy judgement.

Perhaps the latter gives the preferable sense: it is certainly supported by the best MSS., though we have none good enough to decide whether a letter has been left out or doubled by mistake.

6. αἷμα ἁγίων καὶ προφητῶν. See xi. 18, xviii. 20, 24.

πεῖν. See crit. note. This form is also found in St John iv. 7, 9. The infinitive being in the aorist would make the perfect indicative strange.

ἄξιοί εἰσιν. Contrast iii. 4; compare xiv. 5 for asyndeton.

7. τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου. There is no angel (xv. 8) to speak from the altar, as perhaps in ix. 13 (cf. xiv. 18): the altar itself can bear witness (vi. 9) to the righteous blood shed upon earth, and so say Amen to God's vengeance against the persecutors.

Ναί. i. 7, xiv. 13.

8, 9. The Fourth Vial.

8. ἐπὶ τὸν ἥλιον. The three first vials are poured out εἰς, the last four ἐπί. The change may be intentional to mark the distinction between the two groups of plagues (in the Vision of the Trumpets the second group of the three Woes was the smallest as well as the severest): there is no other obvious reason for writing εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν...ἐπὶ τὸν ἀέρα, though in 8, 10, and even 12, ἐπὶ may seem more appropriate as marking the stricken object, while εἰς marks the receptive medium.

ἐδόθη αὐτῷ καυματίσαι. Cf. viii. 12 (the fourth trumpet); but there the light of the sun is diminished, here his heat is increased. It is barely possible with Bengel to explain αὐτῷ of the Angel.

9. ἐβλασφήμησαν. Contrast xv. 4. This, which marks a new and intenser stage of suffering, is henceforth repeated after every vial but the sixth, which describes preparations for active rebellion.

τοῦ ἔχοντος. Must refer to God: it would be yet more forced to interpret it (with Winer?) "they blasphemed the name of the God of (the angel) who had power &c.," than to interpret αὐτῷ of the Angel.

τὴν ἐξουσίαν. Here, as in St Luke xii. 5, Rom. ix. 21, it is impossible to find any trace of the common sense of a committed authority. Probably also in St Matt. vii. 29, St Mark i. 22, St Luke iv. 32, the contrast is between the inherent independent authority of Christ, and those who sat in Moses' seat and had the best right to be believed when they were content to quote their predecessors.

οὐ μετενόησαν δοῦναι αὐτῷ δόξαν. Contrast xi. 13, which therefore cannot refer to the same judgements as here, nor probably to judgements on the same place or people.

10, 11. The Fifth Vial.

10. τὸν θρόνον. The throne: the word is best taken quite literally, not in the vague sense of his capital, the "seat" of his empire.

ἐγένετο ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ ἐσκοτωμένη. Was his throne the light thereof (Is. l. 10, 11), as God and the Lamb will be of the new Jerusalem, in whose light the nations will walk? Cf. on the whole plague Ex. x. 21, ch. ix. 2.

ἐκ τοῦ πόνου. The darkness was of itself distressing, and deprived them of such distractions from pain as they had before. It is clear from the next verse that the seven last plagues are more terrible than even the woes, for of these we are told that each passes before the next comes, while each of the last plagues continues till the end.

12—15. The Sixth Vial.

12. [τὸν] Εὐφράτην, ix. 14 sqq. Where Babylon confessedly stands for Rome, we should naturally understand the Euphrates to be used also in a symbolical sense, possibly as meaning the Tiber. But the Tiber is not a very "great river": and the mention of "the kings of the east" (lit., "the kings from the rising of the sun") as needing to pass the Euphrates seems to mark it as meant literally.

ἐξηράνθη τὸ ὕδωρ αὐτοῦ. Referring to the way that the ancient Babylon was actually captured by Cyrus, by drawing off the water of the Euphrates into a reservoir, so as to make its bed passable for a few hours. Though not mentioned in Dan. v., nor by Cyrus in his lately discovered account of the capture, there seems no doubt that this incident is historical: the details given in Hdt. i. 191 agree exactly with those of the predictions in Is. xliv. 27, xlv. 3; Jer. l. 38, 44, li. 30—32, 36.

ἵνα ἑτοιμασθῇ ἡ ὁδός. Compare the prophecies (Is. xli. 2, 25) of the advance of Cyrus. It may have been felt that his success and services did not exhaust their meaning. He is spoken of as advancing on Babylon "from the East"; much more would any invader of the apocalyptic Babylon come from the East, if he had to cross the literal Euphrates.

τῶν βασιλέων τῶν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς ἡλίου. See crit. notes. The reading of Primasius would imply a still more direct reference to Isaiah; that of Tyconius is probably based on the tradition that the

ten tribes were still awaiting their return in the extreme east. The plural presents no difficulty; the Arsacidae all called themselves kings of kings: and if a more definite application were needed, we might think of the kings of Parthia and Armenia. In xvii. 6 we hear of the kings of the earth combining to attack Babylon, and the Euphrates *may* be dried up only that the kings from the east may be able to advance to take their part in the assault. But why do they specially need their "way to be prepared"? The Euphrates is a far less impassable frontier than the Alps or the Mediterranean: it was in fact in St John's day the weak side of the empire. And probably in this fact we may see the key to the prophecy. In Dan. viii. 8, xi. 4 we have the division of Alexander's empire described as "toward the four winds of heaven": in xi. 5, 6 the Egyptian and Asiatic kingdoms are designated as "the kings of the south and of the north." It is implied therefore that the kings of Macedon are kings of the West: and it remains that the other great and *permanent* kingdom (of smaller ephemeral ones there were more than four) which arose from the dissolution of Alexander's shall be "the kings of the east." Now this designation obliges us to think of the *Parthians*, the longest-lived of all the Alexandrine kingdoms, and the only one surviving in St John's day. This differed from the others, in respect that its royal dynasty was native not Macedonian, but it was not the less a portion of Alexander's empire, inheriting his traditions. (The veneer of Greek culture existing among the Arsacidae is well illustrated by the grim story of the performance of the *Bacchae* at the time of the death of Crassus: it is instructive also to look at the series of coins engraved in Smith's Dictionary s.v. *Arsacidae*, where we see Hellenic types gradually giving way to Assyrian.) In Enoch liv. 9 we hear of "the chiefs of the east among the Parthians and Medes": that passage throws no real light on this, except as shewing who "the kings of the east" were understood to be, by a person familiar with the same ideas as St John. Now in St John's time (whether the earlier or later date be assigned to the vision) there were apprehensions of a Parthian invasion of the empire on behalf of a Pseudo-Nero (Tac. *Hist.* i. ii. 3), i.e. a shadow of Antichrist: and it is likely that St John's prophecy is expressed (as so many O.T. prophecies are) *in terms of* the present political situation. But it had no immediate *fulfilment:* the danger from Parthia under Domitian passed off, and soon afterwards its power was broken for ever by Trajan. But its place was taken in time by the Sassanian kingdom of Persia, which remained for three centuries the most formidable enemy of Rome. Then, as Parthia had been broken by Trajan and fell before Persia, so Persia, broken by Heraclius, fell before the Arabs, who endangered the existence, and actually appropriated great part, of the Eastern Empire. To them succeeded the Turks, before whom it fell.

Now while no event in this series can be called a definite or precise fulfilment of St John's prophecy, we may hold that this habitual relation of "the kings of the east" to the Roman empire supplies a number of typical or partial fulfilments. A pseudo-Nero, made

emperor by a Parthian conquest of Rome, and ruling (as might be expected) in Nero's spirit, would have been almost a real Antichrist; and for such a revelation of Antichrist St John's immediate readers were meant to be prepared. Again, in the conquests and persecutions of Sapor and Chosroes, of Omar, Mohammed, and Suleiman, it was intended that the Christians of the empire should see the approaches and threatenings of the kingdom of Antichrist. But the empire—whether Roman, Byzantine, or Austrian—continued to "withhold, that he may be revealed in his season"; and its modern representatives will continue to do so "until it be taken out of the way: and then shall that Wicked be revealed."

It may be observed that Dan. xi. 40 sqq. seems to imply that the political situation in the East in the days of Antichrist will be not unlike that in the days of Antiochus: for while it is certain that the early part of that chapter applies to the latter, it is hard to regard the passage beginning at *v.* 36 as adequately fulfilled in him. Humanly speaking, it does not seem that the changes now going on in the east are as capable of producing a conquering empire, as they are of producing an antichristian fanaticism: but *qui vivra verra.*

13. καὶ εἶδον. Between the sixth and seventh seal, and between the sixth and seventh trumpet, there appears a vision which has nothing to do with the series in which it is inserted, but which marks the near approach of the final struggle between the kingdoms of light and darkness. We have this on the side of the former in the sealing of the Servants of God and the prophecy of the Two Witnesses: here we have it on the side of the latter in the vision of the three unclean spirits, which is also loosely attached to the context which it can scarcely be said to interrupt.

τοῦ ψευδοπροφήτου. Identified by xix. 20 with the second beast of xiii. 11.

πνεύματα τρία ἀκάθαρτα. This phrase is in the Gospels usually synonymous with "devils" or rather "demons" (whom there is little or no scriptural authority for identifying with fallen Angels, though Satan, St Matt. xii. 24—30, Rev. xii. 7 sqq., is ruler of both). Here the term "spirit" seems to be used rather in the sense of "inspiring power" of which the "demons" are the source—hence they are called in the next verse "spirits *of* demons." See St John's 1 Ep. iv. 3; 1 Tim. iv. 1, which probably refer to the same order of things as this: also 1 Sam. xvi. 14 &c., 1 Kings xxii. 21 sqq.

ὡς βάτραχοι. The nominative would be quite regular after the full formula, *καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἰδού.* There may be a reference to the plague of Egypt, Ex. viii. 2 sqq., but the parallel is not close. Frogs were proverbial for their constant and meaningless noise, which some think helps us to interpret the likeness. If so, one would be tempted to connect it with St Hippolytus' view mentioned on xii. 12.

14. εἰσὶν γὰρ κ.τ.λ. The whole verse is generally taken as more or less parenthetical, so that the structure is, I saw...three unclean spirits—for these are spirits of demons which go forth. Is it possible

that the parenthesis goes no farther than *σημεῖα*, and means "for there really is such a thing as demoniac inspiration attested by signs and wonders"? This would give a natural sense to *γὰρ* which hardly has any in the common view, and, though it is hard to say what is or is not probable in this Book, the connexion of *ἃ ἐκπορεύεται* with what goes before would be less difficult, as would also be the change from *εἰσὶν* to *ἐκπορεύεται*. It may be added that the absence of all mention of demoniacs in the Fourth Gospel implies that the superstition and charlatanism of Ephesian enchanters had produced a widespread reaction.

σημεῖα, xiii. 13, is the word *always* used for miracles in St John's Gospel.

ἃ ἐκπορεύεται. See xix. 19; cf. xx. 3, 8. *ἐκπορευόμενα* in the previous verse would have been more regular and more in accordance with the usual style of this Book, which often employs participles where relative sentences would be more regular. The construction seems to be changed by the simile, the parenthesis, and the clause expressing why they go forth: possibly also by the position of *ἐκ τοῦ στόματος κ.τ.λ.*, which is one of several traces of a tendency to attempt the rhetorical order of ordinary Greek which manifests itself as early as chap. x.

τὸν πόλεμον. xvii. 14, xix. 19—21.

15. ἰδοὺ ἔρχομαι. St John, or another prophet, apparently hears, and writes down as he hears, the words of Christ spoken in the midst of the vision.

ὡς κλέπτης. See iii. 3 and references.

μακάριος ὁ γρηγορῶν. This may refer again, as in St Matt. xxiv. 43, to a watchful householder ready for the secret and sudden coming of the thief, or, as in St Luke xii. 37, to a watchful servant, ready for the coming as sudden and as secret of his Lord.

καὶ τηρῶν. The forewarned householder, if the figure be taken from him, sits up with his clothes on, and the thief will decamp as soon as he sees him. If he were not forewarned, he might hear the thief at work and start naked out of bed, but would be too late for anything but a fruitless chase in unseemly and ridiculous guise. If this be the sense, *ὁ γρηγορῶν καὶ τηρῶν* must mean, who watches and does not lose: there is no more authority for this sense of *τηρεῖν* than for the sense of *λιβανωτὸν* in viii. 3. If the figure be taken from servants waiting for their Lord, possibly we are to understand that the garments are kept not from loss but from defilement, as in iii. 4. The slothful servant is careless too, and either dares not shew himself in the raiment he has defiled, or is stripped of it. As primitive Christianity had many points of contact with Essenism it is not impossible that there may be something like an allusion to the sacred white dress the Essenes reserved for their meals, which were a daily sacrifice and sacrament. This is less irrelevant than the allusion some suggest to the curious Jewish custom that if

a priest fell asleep on night duty in the Temple, his clothes were set on fire—which of course would have the effect of making him throw them off and run away naked.

βλέπωσιν. Impersonal, as xii. 6.

ἀσχημοσύνην. Lit. "uncomeliness," cf. *τὰ ἀσχήμονα* 1 Cor. xii. 23.

16. The Muster for the Battle of Armageddon.

16. συνήγαγεν. The subject is not *ὁ θεός*, as in A.V. but the unclean spirits. The sentence goes on from the end of *v.* 14, *v.* 15 being strictly parenthetical.

Ἁρμαγεδών. The meaning, according as we read *Ar* or *Har*, is "the City" or "the Mountain of Megiddo." But the insertion of "in the Hebrew tongue" *perhaps* indicates, that the *meaning* of the name Megiddo (which is apparently "cleaving") is more important than the geographical note. There is some truth (though some exaggeration) in the description of the plain of Esdraelon as "the battle-field of Palestine": but the only occasions when *Megiddo* is mentioned in connexion with a battle are Judges v. 19, 2 Kings xxiii. 29 (cf. Zech. xii. 11 where LXX. translates *ἐν πεδίῳ ἐκκοπτομένου*). Of course Megiddo or its neighbourhood ("the Mountain of Megiddo" might be Tabor or that conventionally called Little Hermon) *may* be the destined scene of the gathering and overthrow of the Antichristian powers: but it is hardly to be assumed as certain. In Zech. xiv. 4, 5 the Mount of Olives, in Joel iii. 12 the Valley of Jehoshaphat (wherever that is: it must be a proper name, though a significant one; but it is a convention, and an improbable one, that identifies it with the gorge of the Kidron) seem to be represented as the scene of the Judgement.

17—21. The Seventh Vial. Preliminaries of Judgement.

17. ἐπὶ τὸν ἀέρα. See note on *v.* 8.

τοῦ ναοῦ, as in xv. 5, the heavenly temple. Here it seems that the Throne (that of iv. 2) is inside it: but see on iv. 6. Though coming from the Throne, see on xvi. 1, this voice is not defined, like that of xxi. 5, as the voice of Him that sat on it: but comparing xxi. 6 it is possible we ought to take it so.

Γέγονεν. More literally, "it has come to pass": but the same word is used in St Luke xiv. 22, where of course the A.V. is right. God's great Judgement has *not* come to pass yet, but everything has been done to prepare for it. "One who had fired a train would say 'It is done,' though the explosion had not yet taken place," and, we may add, might use the same words again when it *had*, as in xxi. 6.

18. ἀστραπαὶ καὶ φωναὶ καὶ βρονταί. viii. 5, xi. 19.

οἷος οὐκ ἐγένετο...τηλικοῦτος. So far the phrase hardly goes beyond the familiar Hebraism *ὅπου ἔχει ἐκεῖ τόπον*, but the addition of *οὕτω μέγας* after *τηλικοῦτος* is singular, and probably marks the entire distinction of this earthquake from that of xi. 13. For the sense cf. Dan. xii. 1; St Matt. xxiv. 21.

19. ἡ πόλις ἡ μεγάλη. Probably *Jerusalem*, as in chap. xi. 8. It seems pointless to suppose *Babylon* to be mentioned twice over: while on the other view there is a climax. Jerusalem is (or is to be) converted—she is the City of God again, yet even she is sorely shaken (cf. 1 St Peter iv. 17): other cities are wholly overthrown: while the City of God's Enemy is to receive something more than overthrow.

εἰς τρία μέρη. There is probably a reminiscence of Zech. xiv. 4, 5. If so, the earthquake probably isolates the western hill and completes the division of the eastern hill into two. It is just possible that there may be a reference to the three parties of John, Eleazar, and Simon, into which Jerusalem was divided at the time of its siege by Titus. We have seen (on xi. 13) that Jerusalem is to be converted at the very last: but xi. 7, 8 prove that this will not happen till the war with Antichrist is at least begun: consequently, this verse may be concerned with the judgement on Jerusalem still infidel.

αἱ πόλεις τῶν ἐθνῶν. Distinguished from Jerusalem on the one hand and from Babylon on the other.

τὸ ποτήριον. See on xiv. 10.

20. πᾶσα νῆσος. See vi. 14.

21. χάλαζα μεγάλη. viii. 7, xi. 19.

ὡς ταλαντιαία. While natural hailstones weighing the sixtieth part of a talent are noticed as extraordinary. Some notice that the stones thrown by the engines at the siege of Jerusalem are said to have been of a talent weight: but it would be far-fetched to suppose these referred to. In this verse at least, the judgement described cannot be on Jerusalem—see on xi. 13 fin.

CHAPTER XVII.

1. ἐλάλησεν μετ' ἐμοῦ, λέγων. Cyp. (*bis*) reads *adgressus est me dicens*. Hipp. ἐλάλησέ μοι λέγων. Text. Rec. with 1 ἐλ. μετ' ἐμοῦ λέγων μοι.

2. ἐπόρνευσαν. ℵ has ἐποίησαν πορνίαν.

καὶ ἐμεθ....αὐτῆς is omitted by Cyp. and Primas. but recognised by Tyc. Text. Rec. puts οἱ κατ. τὴν γῆν after αὐτῆς with 1 cop. æth.

3. γέμοντα ὀνόματα. ℵ^{c}B$_2$ read γέμον ὀνόματα; Text. Rec. γέμον ὀνομάτων with 1 Hipp. And.

ἔχον. With B$_2$ 1 And.: Tisch. W. H. marg. read ἔχοντα with ℵP; W. H. text ἔχων with A.

κεφ. ἑπτὰ καί. 1 omits. P adds *v.* 18 here and after *v.* 17.

4. τῆς πορν. αὐτῆς. B$_2$ reads τῆς πορν. τῆς γῆς; Cyp. Primas. *fornicationis totius terrae*; ℵ τῆς πορνίας αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς γῆς.

5. πορνῶν. Lat. *fornicationum*.

6. μεθύουσαν ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος. With A 1 vg. Primas. Tyc.; ℵ* has μεθ. τῷ αἵματι (Tert. *cruore*); ℵ^{c}B$_2$P omit ἐκ.

μαρτύρων. A reads μαρτυριῶν.

7. σοι ἐρῶ. So Text. Rec. and Tisch. W. H. marg. with ℵP 1 am. fu.; Lach. Treg. W. H., Weiss read *ἐρῶ σοι* with AB_2.

8. ὑπάγειν. Lach. and W. H. (text) read *ὑπάγει* with A; Iren. int. Primas. *vadit.*

καὶ παρέσται. Text. Rec. reads *καίπερ ἐστίν*; ℵ^c and 1 *καὶ πάρεστιν.*

9. ὧδε is omitted in B_2 so that the *ὁ νοῦς* is the subject of *παρέσται.*

11. καὶ αὐτός. ℵ reads *οὗτος*; B_2 *καὶ οὗτος.*

14. κλητοὶ καὶ ἐκλεκτοὶ καὶ πιστοί. Primas. *electi et fideles et vocati.* Tyc. *vocati et electi.* 1 *κλητοὶ ὅτι ἐκλεκτοὶ καὶ πιστοί.* And^a *κλητοὶ ὅτι πιστοὶ καὶ ἐκλεκτοί.*

15. λέγει. Lach. reads *εἶπεν* with A Latt.

16. ἐν πυρί. Tisch. omits *ἐν* with $\aleph B_2 P$

17. καὶ ποιῆσαι μίαν γνώμην. Lach. omits with A, vg. and Tyc. Primas. reads *ut perficiant quod illi placitum est et esse illos in consensu et metu et tradere bestiae regnum.*

18. βασιλέων. ℵ reads *βασιλειῶν.*

Chap. XVII. XVIII. Babylon.

These Chapters are related to each other something as xi. xii. Those seem between them to give an account of a judgement on Jerusalem, these seem between them to give an account of the judgement on Babylon. But neither account seems to be strictly continuous; in both the historical background and the standpoint of the Seer seem to change. The Beast makes war against the Witnesses and profanes the holy city; then he disappears as completely as the Witnesses themselves from the conflict between the Woman and the Dragon, which typifies the desolation of the earthly Jerusalem; yet the vision in ch. xi. is obviously not complete in itself; nor is that in ch. xvii. The Seer is told that he is to be shewn the judgement upon the great whore, but at the end of the chapter the judgement, though definitely foretold, is still in the future. In the greater part of ch. xviii. (*vv.* 4—8, 21—24 are an exception), the judgement seems to be already over; and if this could be explained by the analogy of other prophecies it would still be remarkable that the beast and the horns which are so important in ch. xvii. disappear completely in ch. xviii.: for there is no clear ground for identifying the horns, whose dominion is both future and ephemeral, with the kings of the earth, the ancient lovers of Babylon, who bemoan her fall. Nor is there any trace in ch. xviii. of any human instrument of the divine vengeance. Again, in xviii. 1—3 Babylon has long been desolate, all kinds of foul creatures have made the ruins their home, while in *vv.* 9—20 the ruins are still smoking, and according to xix. 3 they are to smoke for ever. Such changes of imagery of course are not contradictions, but they suggest that prophecies of different dates upon the same subject have been brought together.

CH. XVII. 1—6.

THE JUDGEMENT OF THE GREAT WHORE. HER POMP.

1. **εἷς ἐκ τῶν ἑπτὰ ἀγγέλων.** So xxi. 9: cf. v. 5.

δείξω σοι τὸ κρίμα. Which had been exhibited, and described in general terms, in xvi. 19; but the seer is now to have a nearer view of it, and describe it in detail.

τῆς πόρνης τῆς μεγάλης. The image of the *harlot* is taken from the Old Testament description, not of Babylon, which when personified is a virgin (Is. xlvii. 1), but of Tyre (Is. xxiii. 15 sqq.) and Nineveh (Nah. iii. 4). The truth is, the Antichristian Empire is conceived as embodying the various forms of evil that existed in previous earthly empires. They have existed and become great, in virtue of what was *good* in them (see St Augustine's *City of God* v. xii. 3, 5, xv. &c.; Epist. cxxxviii. 17: cf. Plat. *Rep.* i. xxiii. pp. 351—2); they are the divinely appointed protectors of God's people (Jer. xxix. 7; Rom. xiii. 1—7; 1 Tim. ii. 2) though their possible persecutors: and so they at once hinder (2 Thess. ii. 6, 7) the coming of Antichrist, and foreshadow his coming by acting in his spirit. The Babylon of Nebuchadnezzar had (as no one can read the Book of Daniel without seeing) something nobler in it than mere conquering pride, and to this nobler element Isaiah does justice: but St John sees (it does not follow that the natural man will see) that in the New Babylon the baser element is supreme.

But another interpretation has been suggested. In xii. 6, 14 we found that the Woman, the City of God and the Mother of His Son, fled into the wilderness, and there was concealed through the time of the Beast's reign: and some have thought that the Woman in the Wilderness whom we meet with here is actually the same as the one we then parted with—the faithful City becomes an harlot (Is. i. 21).

This view is an unpleasant one, and seems out of harmony with the tone either of chap. xii. or of this chapter. But it is supported by the argument, that the image of a harlot is most frequently in the O.T. used of the unfaithful City of God: Is. i. 21; Jer. ii. 20, iii. 1 sqq. 6 sqq.; Ezek. xvi. xxiii.; Hos. i.—iii., iv. 15; Mic. i. 7: while it is applied to heathen cities only in Is. xxiii. fin.; Nah. iii. 4, already quoted.

On the other hand, in almost all those passages it is insisted on, more or less expressly, that the whoredoms of unfaithful Israel have the special guilt of *adultery:* and of that there is no hint here, the Lord does not say of Babylon as of Aholibah that she was "Mine." This seems to destroy the parallel with the former nine cases, which moreover is less close, as regards the details of language, than that with the two latter.

And further, the identification of the two Women is only possible on the assumption, that the Mother of chap. xii. is the true Christian Church, and the Harlot of this chapter the apostate Christian Church of Rome. Now we have seen reason to reject the former view: nor does the latter appear any more tenable. This subject is discussed

in the Introduction: it may be enough to refer to St John's own words in Ep. 1 iv. 2, 3, as proving that the spirit of the theology (whatever may be said of the political attitude) of the existing Roman Church is, on the whole, of God—that it certainly is *not* the spirit of Antichrist.

Neither on the other hand is it possible to restrict the application of this chapter to the pagan Rome of the past: there is hardly anything in the Rome of the republic, not much even in the Rome of the Cæsars, to suggest the picture of the kings of the earth committing fornication with her. It is clear from Ezek. xxiii. 5, 12, 14, that Nineveh and Babylon conquered as much by the fascination of a higher civilisation as by military force: in a limited sense it may be true that the house of Herod and even Tiridates yielded to a like seduction; but Antioch and Alexandria were much more splendid than the Rome of Pompey. On the other hand the Rome of the Middle Ages and of the Renaissance has found her chief if not her only temporal strength in her memories and her splendour: she has been by turns the Delilah of Germany, of France, and of Spain.

ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων πολλῶν. Jer. li. 13. Literally true of the old Babylon, it is explained of the new in *v.* 15.

2. μεθ' ἧς ἐπόρνευσαν. Is. xxiii. 17.

οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὴν γῆν. Jer. li. 7.

3. εἰς ἔρημον. Probably a reminiscence of Is. xxi. 1, *τὸ ὅραμα τῆς ἐρήμου*, LXX., who omit the puzzling words "of the sea." If, as good critics still maintain, that prophecy belongs to the age of Isaiah, the original reference is to the Arabian desert across which the prophet hears in spirit the first tidings of one of the failures of Babylon to assert her independence. Babylonia, though naturally very fertile, is now a wilderness, but we do not know how far the desolation had gone in St John's day. It *may* be relevant to compare the present desolation of the once populous Campagna of Rome, if we suppose, which is uncertain, that the seer is carried into the wilderness because he is to see a vision of desolation.

ἐν πνεύματι. Cf. i. 10, iv. 2, xxi. 10.

θηρίον κόκκινον. Undoubtedly the same as the Beast of xiii. 1—8, though there his colour was not mentioned. It is symbolic (compare that of the dragon, xii. 3), as being the colour of blood: perhaps also suggestive of the imperial purple.

γέμοντα ὀνόματα βλασφημίας. No reason has ever been given why a writer, who elsewhere constructs *γέμω* regularly with a genitive, should construct it here with an accusative, except that he possibly does the same in the next verse. There is of course a reference to xiii. 1. The blasphemous names of the heads of the beast, i.e. the imperial titles, make the whole body full of names of blasphemy.

4. περιβεβλημένη πορφυροῦν καὶ κόκκινον. Protestant interpreters have been fond of applying this description to the robes of Roman bishops and cardinals: and perhaps not altogether unjustly. See Introduction, p. lxxii.

κεχρυσωμένη χρυσῷ. Lit. "gilded with gold," and, but for the words which follow, the literal sense might be right; the imperial harlot Messalina did the like, Juv. vi. 123. If not, it is a question whether we are to suppose a zeugma or translate *κεχρυσωμένη* "bejewelled."

λίθῳ τιμίῳ. See on xv. 6; of course *λίθῳ* is used collectively.

ποτήριον χρυσοῦν. See Jer. li. 7 already quoted. We can hardly say that the cup serves her to drink the blood of saints and martyrs (*v.* 6), but it is meant to suggest that she is drunken, and invites to drunkenness, as well as to uncleanness.

γέμον βδελυγμάτων. It is the cup of idolatry and the *βδελύγματα* are idols.

καὶ τὰ ἀκάθαρτα τῆς πορνείας αὐτῆς. The pollutions of her whoredom are the same as the abominations of her idols: neither the revisers nor the editors of the Variorum Bible consider Düsterdieck's suggestion, since adopted by Weiss, that the accusative may depend upon *ἔχουσα* as easily as on *γέμον*, worth notice, and probably it is condemned by the Latin translators, who all make the connexion the same as in A.V., though they get rid of the irregular construction.

5. ἐπὶ τὸ μέτωπον αὐτῆς. Probably not branded on the flesh, but tied on as a label, as Roman harlots actually did wear their names.

Μυστήριον. Interpreters compare "the mystery of lawlessness" in 2 Thess. ii. 7. The use of the word in i. 20 may illustrate its meaning here: it indicates that "Babylon the Great" is to be understood in a mystical sense.

τῶν πορνῶν. "Of the harlots." She is the chief of these, and the cause of the rest being what they are. Therefore, though the fornications of Babylon are to be understood spiritually, yet her guilt includes the actual licentiousness of the Rome of Nero and Domitian, and in a wider sense "the sin of great cities" generally.

6. τῶν ἁγίων. xviii. 24.

τῶν μαρτύρων. See on ii. 13.

θαῦμα. "Wonder," which A.V. changes into "admiration" for the sake of variety: the neutral sense of the latter word is the oldest, and is still found in Scott's *Woodstock* and in Hamilton's *Discussions*.

7—18. The Interpretation of the Mystery.

7. Διατί ἐθαύμασας; Here again A.V. varies the expression "wherefore didst thou marvel?" For the angel's surprise at the seer's not comprehending at once, see on vii. 14.

ἐγώ σοι ἐρῶ. Cf. *ἐγὼ δὲ δώσω σοι τὸν ἀμπελῶνα*, 1 Kings xxi. 7, which also comes after a question; Dan. x. 12, *ἠκούσθησαν οἱ λόγοι σου, καὶ ἐγὼ ἦλθον ἐν τοῖς λόγοις σου*, xi. 1 *καὶ ἐγὼ ἐν ἔτει πρώτῳ Κύρου ἔστην εἰς κράτος καὶ ἰσχύν*. It is not quite certain that the emphasis of *ἐγὼ* depends on a contrast between the angel and the seer.

τὸ μυστήριον, i.e. the mystical meaning: see on *v.* 5.

τῆς γυναικός, καὶ τοῦ θηρίου. The latter is explained first, *vv.* 8—14: the Woman is not clearly defined till *v.* 18. The delay is intentional, but the exposition passes to and fro between the Horns and the Beast, and the Woman, who is approached again and again in a way that recalls the Prologue of the Fourth Gospel, which also passes to and fro between the Word and the Man sent from God whose name was John.

8. ἦν, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν. On the whole, ancient tradition, where it speaks, and modern criticism agree in the interpretation of these words. *Nero*, who killed himself in June A.D. 68, "had been, and was not" at the date of this vision: but his reappearance was looked for by many, with various feelings of hope and fear. When his dethronement and execution were imminent, it was said that he had talked of going to the East, and establishing his throne at Jerusalem (see on xi. 9): while one form (see on xvi. 12) of the belief that he survived was that he had fled to the Parthians, and would return under their protection.

Now St John is not to be held responsible for all the opinions, superstitious or at least irrational, that were held by his pagan contemporaries about the return of Nero from the East. But when we find that the belief in Nero's destined return was held by Christians for the next four centuries, if not longer, when it had quite passed out of the minds of pagans, it becomes probable that St John *was* answerable for *their* belief; at any rate, they grounded it on his words. And it is possible that he means to tell us, that the Antichrist who is to come will actually be Nero risen from the dead (we notice, that in the words of the text his death, the reality of which is historically certain, is not denied, but affirmed): more probably, Antichrist will be a new Nero in the same way as he will be a new Antiochus, an enemy of God as they were, typified by them inasmuch as they were actuated by his spirit. It is needless to suppose with M. Renan that Nero is called "the Beast" in allusion to a loathsome atrocity said to be committed by him disguised as one: the analogy of Dan. vii. is what determines the image.

μέλλει ἀναβαίνειν ἐκ τῆς ἀβύσσου. xi. 7, where see note. Perhaps there is a distinction between the appearance of the Beast indicated here and that of xiii. 1. The persecuting Roman Empire, which was antichristian *in posse*, arose "out of the sea" like other Empires of the earth (Dan. vii. 3), out of the confused and often sinful, but not infra-natural, turmoil of the life of this world. But the *final* and *developed* antichristian and persecuting power, the Empire of Antichrist himself, will have a directly infernal source.

εἰς ἀπώλειαν ὑπάγειν. So *v.* 11: cf. 2 Thess. ii. 3. The fulfilment of this threat is indicated in xix. 20.

θαυμάσονται. xiii. 3, 4.

ὧν οὐ γέγραπται τὸ ὄνομα. xiii. 8.

βλεπόντων. The genitive may either be absolute, as it must be in i. 15 if *πεπυρωμένης* be right, or irregularly attracted to *ὧν*.

καὶ παρέσται. The word is designedly chosen to remind readers of *the* Parousia.

9. ὧδε ὁ νοῦς. Compare xiii. 18. As there, the words seem to indicate that "the mind which hath wisdom" will recognise the meaning of the image, though it is obscurely expressed. But the "wisdom" required is not merely the faculty of guessing riddles—it is the wisdom enlightened from above; including however, we may suppose, an intelligent knowledge of the facts and principles of human history. At this point the explanation of the Angel seems to be interrupted till it is resumed at καὶ λέγει μοι, *v.* 15. If so, as the seer is addressed in *v.* 12, we should have to suppose we have the inspired reflection of another prophet.

ἑπτὰ ὄρη. These words prove decisively that Babylon represents the City of *Rome*. It is needless to quote classical descriptions of Rome as the City of the Seven Mountains: the designation is as unmistakeable as the name would be. Nevertheless, it is curious that the number is rather conventionally than actually true. The *original* seven hills were the Palatine, the Germalus (virtually a part of the Palatine hill), the Velia (the low ridge crossing the Forum), the Cispius, Oppius, and Fagutal (three summits of the Esquiline), and the Suburra which is not a hill at all. But Rome in the days of its greatness covered the Palatine, Capitol, Aventine, Caelian, Esquiline (two of the ridges of which, though not very well defined, are yet as distinct as the two next), the Quirinal, the Viminal (these two were never counted among the "seven mountains," though higher than any of them, but were always called "hills," perhaps because *collis* was the Sabine name and *mons* the Latin), and the Janiculum and Vatican on the other side of the Tiber. In modern Rome the buildings have spread over the Pincian Hill, but the Caelian, Palatine, Aventine, are nearly uninhabited, and the same was true till lately of the Esquiline.

10. καὶ βασιλεῖς ἑπτά εἰσιν. "And they [the seven heads] are seven kings": they have a double significance—standing *both* for the seven mountains and the seven kings.

Who are these kings? According to the view mentioned on xiii. 2, that the Beast is not the Roman Empire, but an embodiment of the worldly imperial spirit, it is plausibly held that the kings are kingdoms or empires (like the "kings of Persia and Grecia" in Dan. viii.)—that they are the four kingdoms of Daniel ii. and vii., together with Egypt and Assyria that came before Babylon, and the kingdoms of modern Europe that come after Rome. On this view, the ten horns are all on one head: it is this ten-horned head which receives the deadly wound of xiii. 3: i.e. the Beast is nearly slain (the Empire *as an evil and persecuting power* overthrown) by the conversion, first of the later Emperors, and then of the sovereigns of Europe, to Christianity: but he revives—e.g. in Julian after Constantine, and again in the neo-paganism of the Renaissance and the persecutions of the Reformation.

With all the elements of truth that must be acknowledged in this

view, it seems hardly possible to doubt that the Beast, so closely united with the City of the Seven Hills, represents the *Roman* Empire particularly. On this view, the "kings" have been taken to represent *forms of government*—Rome having been successively governed, it is said, by kings, consuls, dictators, decemvirs, military tribunes, emperors, and Christian emperors (the last being taken, as before, to be the *wounded* head: some however make the conversion of Constantine a wound to the *sixth* head, and count the Ostrogoth kings as the seventh). But considering that the dictatorship, the decemvirate, and even the tribunate, were transitory episodes in the Roman government—the first avowedly exceptional, the second both exceptional and ephemeral, and all three, as well as the primitive monarchy, probably unknown to St John's original readers,—this view does not appear even plausible.

It remains then that the kings be taken as individual Emperors of Rome (it must be remembered that though these were never called "kings" in Latin, the Greek title *βασιλεύς* was constantly applied to the Emperors: see e.g. 1 St Peter ii. 13, 17). Who then were the first seven Emperors? According to the common reckoning, Julius Caesar, Augustus, Tiberius, Gaius—(often called by modern writers by his nickname *Caligula*, "Little Boots"): of the twelve Caesars, Julius and Claudius were better known to history by their gentile names; Augustus by his title; Vespasian and Domitian, both younger sons, were known by *cognomina* formed from the name of their mothers; Titus was known by the *praenomen* he shared with his father and brother; Tiberius, Gaius and Nero were known by their *praenomina*, the latter having received a *cognomen* of Claudius as his *praenomen*, Galba and Otho by their *cognomina* (while the *elder* brother of the latter was commonly known as Titianus, which was a *cognomen* not inherited from his father),—Claudius, Nero, and Galba. But Julius Caesar, though he received the title of *Imperator* as the later Emperors did, cannot be considered, and is not by careful historians, as the first of the "Emperors," if the Empire be spoken of as a settled form of government. His authority in the state, so far as it was constitutional at all, lay in his Dictatorship: which office was legally abolished immediately after his death, and never revived. He was however deified, which marks his recognition as, so to speak, the founder of the dynasty. Augustus, and the later Emperors, ruled not as Dictator, but as Chief of the Senate with the power of Tribune.

οἱ πέντε ἔπεσαν. Augustus, Tiberius, Gaius, Claudius, and Nero. Is then the "one who is" Galba? So he is generally understood by those who adopt this scheme of interpretation: and if so, the date of the vision (see Introduction) is fixed at a time between June A.D. 68, and the 15th of January A.D. 69, when Galba was murdered. He was succeeded by Otho, who certainly "continued a short space," if he could be said to continue at all: he killed himself, on April 15th, when defeated by the army of Vitellius, who had revolted from Galba a few days before his murder by Otho.

But the rest of the prophecy, on this view, received nothing that

can be reckoned as even a typical fulfilment. Vitellius, despite many contemptible vices, was a good-natured man, and not a bad ruler, so far as he had energy to rule at all. He could not be considered as an incarnation of the Antichristian power, nor even as a revival of Nero, though he, as well as Otho, treated Nero's memory with respect. And considering that Galba had only reigned in Rome for a few weeks before his death (though he had been acknowledged longer), that Otho *never* had an uncontested title, and Vitellius only from about the end of April to July 1st, it seems likelier that these three are passed over, as claimants of empire (and they had not been the only ones: see on *v.* 12) rather than actual emperors. Thus, the sixth king will be Vespasian, who was proclaimed emperor on July 1st, A.D. 69: his troops gained a decisive victory over those of Vitellius late in October, and Rome was taken, and Vitellius killed, on Dec. 21st.

Vespasian reigned well and peaceably, and was succeeded by his elder son Titus, in June A.D. 79: who "continued a short space," till Sept. 12th, A.D. 81, when he died, aged 40;—murdered, as some said, by his brother Domitian, who succeeded him, and who was regarded, by pagans and Christians alike, as a revival of Nero (Juv. IV. 38; Tert. *Apol.* c. 7). Like Nero, he persecuted the Christians: like Nero, he indulged in the most hideous vices: though unlike Nero, he had a strong sense of decorum, and was fanatically attached to the Roman religion. Further than this, the vision does not follow the fortunes of the Empire in detail. At the point where the type of Antichrist comes into the history, the prophecy introduces Antichrist himself: cf. Dan. xi., as understood by most orthodox interpreters.

ὀλίγον αὐτὸν δεῖ μεῖναι. Both "continue" and "short" seem to be emphatic—his reign is to be short, but not ephemeral. Thus the designation seems more appropriate to Titus than to Otho. St Victorinus (in the present text) applies it to *Nerva*, who like Titus reigned mildly for under two years. But his successor Trajan (though he to a certain extent sanctioned the persecution of Christianity, and is said himself to have condemned St Ignatius) was anything but an Antichrist. It may seem as though St Victorinus (or his editor) were making a rather clumsy attempt to reconcile the interpretation here given, which he was acquainted with as a tradition, with the general belief that St John was writing under Domitian.

11. καὶ αὐτὸς κ.τ.λ. The analogy of this Book is in favour of connecting the first two words closely as in A.V., "even he is the eighth and is of the seven," otherwise it might be possible and even preferable to translate "both himself is the eighth and is of the seven."

ἐκ τῶν ἑπτά is most easily understood "is one of the seven"—i.e. the eighth emperor of Rome, in whom the antichristian spirit of the empire finds its personal embodiment, will be a revival of one of his seven predecessors—viz. Nero, the fifth of them. The words can however be taken to mean "the successor and result of the

seven, following and springing out of them"; if a scheme of interpretation be preferred with which this meaning harmonises better.

εἰς ἀπώλειαν ὑπάγει. Implies something more than the "fall" of the other kings.

12. τὰ δέκα κέρατα. If the traditional view now supported by Lagarde be right, that the Fourth Beast in Daniel vii. is the Roman Empire, the ten horns, Dan. vii. 24, probably, though the Little Horn is their successor, represent kingdoms related to the Roman Empire as the kingdoms of the Diadochi to that of Alexander. Such are the principal kingdoms of modern Europe: and in the recognition of this fact lies the key to mediaeval and to much of modern history. (See Sir F. Palgrave's *Normandy and England*, Intr. c. 1, *English Commonwealth*, c. 10, 11, 17, 18, 19, and Dr Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire*, passim.) The number ten is probably to be taken as exact, but we cannot *yet* point to it as being definitely realised. It is remarkable that the kingdoms of Europe have (as is pointed out by Elliott, *Horae Apoc.* Part iv. c. iv. § 2) tended at many periods to that number: but there are now more than ten sovereign states in Christendom, or even in Europe only. Judging from the analogy of the Macedonian kingdoms (see on xvi. 12) we may guess that only those are included which are of considerable size and power, and have some claim to continue the imperial tradition of the common predecessor. The existing states of Germany, France, Austria, and Russia have such a claim (which they assert, more or less constantly and more or less legitimately, by the use of the imperial title): so has our own country, which has claimed rank as an empire coordinate with continental ones since the days of Edgar the Peaceable: so (more doubtfully) have Spain and Portugal in virtue of their memories, and so have the new kingdoms of Greece and Italy in virtue of their hopes. A tenth can hardly be named, for Sweden though powerful was not imperial even under Gustavus Adolphus or Charles XII., and Turkey could hardly be thus coupled with the states of Christendom: but believers will watch the developement of "the Eastern Question" with a solemn interest.

St Hippolytus, who assumes that the ten horns here correspond exactly to the ten horns in Daniel, infers from Dan. xi. 43 that Egypt, Libya and Aethiopia will be three of the ten kingdoms overthrown by the Little Horn, whom he identifies with the Beast and with Antichrist. As here all ten horns take part with the Beast in executing judgement upon the whore, the correspondence cannot be exact, not to mention that in Dan. vii. 24 the Little Horn seems to be the successor of the Ten Horns, as here the Beast is the successor of the Seven Heads. It is therefore not impossible that here the Horns betoken the extension rather than the partition of the empire: ten new kings arise and join themselves to the Beast.

Many foreign interpreters explain this of the provincial governors who receive power as kings as soon as they throw off their allegiance to the Seventh Head and give the kingdom to the Beast on his return from the abyss. Apart from other considerations it is impossible

to say which of the provincial governors are meant, and difficult to suppose that even a false prophet could employ such a figure without knowing what he meant by it. M. Renan's theory (*L'Antéchrist*, pp. 433, 434), that the ten horns are *the claimants of the Empire* who appeared in the "long year" (Tac. *Dial.* 17) after the death of Nero, is less objectionable. It is possible to enumerate ten of these, but unfortunately not without including both Galba and Vespasian, one of whom must be reckoned among the *heads*, and therefore cannot be reckoned among the *horns*. Else, both Rome and the Roman Empire were so severely shaken in the civil wars between the rival emperors, and their actual fall in the fifth century was so nearly anticipated, that this interpretation harmonises well enough with *v.* 16. On the other hand, it fails to give meaning to *v.* 13, or to agree with the most probable meaning of the same symbol in Daniel.

οἵτινες. The pronoun introduces the explanation why they are symbolised by horns, not heads.

ἐξουσίαν ὡς βασιλεῖς. It is extraordinary that St Hippolytus (*On Christ and Antichrist*, ch. 27) inferred, apparently not from this passage, but from Dan. ii. 42, that the ten powers of the last days, among which the Roman empire is partitioned, will pass from monarchies into *democracies*. Few things were humanly speaking less likely in his days, few more so in ours.

μίαν ὥραν λαμβάνουσιν μετὰ τοῦ θηρίου. Their dominion is for the same short term as that of the Beast: the end will be very near when the ten horns appear in their final and unmistakeable shape. If the correspondence between Daniel and this chapter be as exact as interpreters who attempt to identify the horns suppose, this only makes their inconsistency the greater.

13. οὗτοι—διδόασιν. The order in this clause and in the next corresponds to that of ordinary Greek more nearly than in xiv. 4, where the structure is similar: for the sense cf. xvi. 14, xix. 19, 20.

14. See the same passages.

κύριος κυρίων...καὶ βασιλεὺς βασιλέων. xix. 16; Dan. ii. 47.

οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ. xix. 14.

κλητοὶ καὶ ἐκλεκτοὶ καὶ πιστοί. All common titles of *Christians* applied even to the imperfect Churches on earth.

15. τὰ ὕδατα ἃ εἶδες. Some compare Is. viii. 7 for the use of *waters* as an emblem of *multitudes*. It is noteworthy that when the vision is described *vv.* 3—8 the waters are not mentioned.

ὄχλοι. Everywhere else we have *φυλαί*.

16. καὶ τὸ θηρίον. He (in his personal advent) and they will act together against Babylon as well as the Lamb.

μισήσουσιν τὴν πόρνην. If the interpreters who include the horns among the kings of the earth are right, she had been the object of

their unchaste love, and will be of their passionate regret, xviii. 9. Nero's treatment of his mistress or wife Poppaea cannot be alluded to, but is a good illustration of the image, and vindication of its consistency with vicious human nature.

γυμνήν. Cf. Is. xlvii. 2, 3; Ezek. xvi. 37—9.

τὰς σάρκας αὐτῆς φάγονται, καὶ αὐτὴν κατακαύσουσιν ἐν πυρί. Cf. Mic. iii. 2; Gen. xxxviii. 24; Judges xv. 6; i.e. shall plunder and burn Rome. The threat was symbolised and almost fulfilled in the burning of the Capitol by the partisans of Vitellius, and the storming of Rome by those of Vespasian: it received a more complete fulfilment in the repeated disasters of the fifth century. The sack of Rome by Constable Bourbon and the Germans was a less striking fulfilment: but the real and final one is no doubt still to come.

We should naturally understand from these words, that the judgement on Babylon described in the next chapter will be executed by the "kings of the earth," the ten States among which the Roman Empire is partitioned. But it is almost as remarkable as the view of Hippolytus noted on *v.* 12, that St Benedict is recorded (S. Greg. *Dial.* II. 15) to have said, "Rome will not be destroyed by the nations, but be overthrown by thunderstorms, whirlwinds and *earthquakes*." We know what he did not, that Rome stands, like Pompeii, on volcanic soil, within a few miles of volcanoes that, though not active now, were so to the verge of historical times, and may be again. This book does not tell us positively how Babylon *will* fall, and no one has the right to pretend to say: but it is at least suggestive to know that it *might* fall by a convulsion which unbelievers would think quite "natural," while believers would see its place in the scheme of providence.

17. ὁ γὰρ θεός. The very same judicial blindness is spoken of in 2 Thess. ii. 11.

ποιῆσαι μίαν γνώμην. Cf. *v.* 13.

δοῦναι τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῶν τῷ θηρίῳ. He therefore, though a representative of the Roman Empire, will not fall with the city of Rome: on the contrary, in the last days of the latter he will have appeared as its enemy. The gradual divorce of the Empire from the City, by Diocletian, Constantine, Charlemagne, the mediæval German Emperors, Charles V., Francis II., Napoleon, William, is significant as providing precedents for what Antichrist will do: though of course it would be absurd and unjust to think of all these as actuated by his spirit.

18. ἡ πόλις ἡ μεγάλη. Again as in *v.* 9 the designation of Rome is unmistakeable. The words cannot be glossed, "Babylon is (now represented by) Rome," but must mean "Babylon *is* Rome."

CHAPTER XVIII.

1. μετὰ ταῦτα. Primas. reads *et;* Text. Rec. *καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα* with 1 vg.

2. ἐν ἰσχυρᾷ φωνῇ. Vg. (tol.) Tyc. *in fortitudine*, whence Text. Rec. *ἐν ἰσχύϊ φωνῇ μεγάλῃ.*

λέγων. P omits.

πν. ἀκαθάρτου. A adds *καὶ μεμισημένου.*

ὀρνέου. A reads *θηρίου.* Primas. *refugium...omnis bestiae immundae et omnis avis immundae et odibilis.* Syr. has *et custodia omnis animalis dentis immundi et exosi* at end of verse.

3. τοῦ οἴνου τ. θ. τ. π. AC omit *τοῦ οἴνου.* C has *τοῦ θυμοῦ* after *τῆς πορνείας.* Primas. omits *τοῦ θυμοῦ.*

πέπωκαν. AC have *πέπτωκαν*, $\aleph B_2$ *πεπτώκασιν* by a common clerical error which here makes sense. P 1 have *πέποκεν*, Text. Rec. *πέπωκε.* The Versions preserve the true text.

4. ἐξέλθατε. Lach. reads *ἐξέλθε* with B_2C Cyp. Primas.

λάβητε. And^{a}. *βλάβητε*, Tyc. *laedamini.* Cyp. Primas. *perstringaris.*

5. ἐκολλήθησαν. Vg. Cyp. Primas. read *pervenerunt*, Tyc. *adscenderunt*, Text. Rec. *ἠκολούθησαν.*

6. ἀπόδοτε. Cyp. Primas. have *reddidit.*

7. δότε. Cyp. Primas. have *datur.*

8. θάνατος καὶ πένθος καὶ λιμός. B_2 has *θανάτου πένθος καὶ λιμοῦ.*

9. κλαύσουσιν. So Lach. Treg. W. H. (text) and Weiss with B_2CP; Text. Rec. and Tisch. (note) read *κλαύσονται* with $\aleph A$.

12. γόμον χρυσοῦ, καὶ ἀργύρου, καὶ λίθου τιμίου. CP read *γ. χρυσοῦν καὶ ἀργυροῦν καὶ λίθους τιμίους*, Primas. *mercis auri et argenti et lapidum pretiosorum.*

μαργαριτῶν with $\aleph$ Primas.; Text. Rec. *μαργαρίτου* with B_2 vg.; A has *μαργαρίταις*, CP *μαργαρίτας.* Both are possibly as W. H. suggest corruptions of *μαργαρίδος.*

καὶ βυσσίνου. Primas. omits.

καὶ πορφύρας. A omits, Primas. inserts after *καὶ σιρικοῦ.*

ξύλον. A has *σκεῦος*, Primas. *omnis ligni citrei.*

ἐκ ξύλου. A has *ἐκ λίθου*, C omits *ἐκ.*

13. καὶ κιννάμωμον, καὶ ἄμωμον. $\aleph B_2$ Primas. (?) read *καὶ κιναμώμου.* $\aleph^{c}B_2$ Primas. omit *καὶ ἄμωμον.*

θυμιάματα. 1 Primas. read *θυμίαμα*, B_2 *θυμιάματος.*

καὶ μύρον. C omits.

καὶ ψυχὰς ἀνθρώπων. Primas. omits (*mancipia* = *σωμάτων*).

14. εὑρήσουσιν. Text. Rec. reads *εὑρήσῃς* with B_2 *εὕρῃς*, 1 *εὑρήσεις.*

16. κεχρυσωμένη. $\aleph$ has *κεχρυσωμένον.*

17. **ἐπὶ τόπον πλέων.** B_2 has *ἐπὶ τὸν τ. πλ.*; P *ἐπὶ τῶν πλοίων πλέων.* Text. Rec. *ἐπὶ τῶν πλοίων ὁ ὅμιλος* with 1 Hipp. And[a].

18. **καπνόν.** A has *τόπον.*

19. **κλαίοντες καὶ πενθοῦντες.** A 1 omit.

20. **καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι.** With ℵAB_2P am. fu. Primas.; Text. Rec. omits *καὶ οἱ* with C 1 vg.

21. **ἰσχυρὸς λίθον.** ℵ* has *λίθον ἰσχυρόν.* A Syr. Tyc. omit *ἰσχυρός.*

ὡς μύλον μέγαν. ℵ has *ὡς λίθον μέγαν*, AC *ὡς μύλινον* (C *μυλικὸν*) *μέγαν.*

22. **πάσης τέχνης.** ℵA cop. omit.

μύλου. C has *μύθου.*

23. **καὶ φῶς...ἐν σοὶ ἔτι.** A and some MSS. of vg. omit.

οἱ ἔμποροι. Lach. and Treg. omit *οἱ* with A 95.

24. **αἷμα.** Tisch. reads *αἵματα* with B_2 and And. comm.

THE JUDGEMENT ON BABYLON.

CH. XVIII. 1—3. HER FINAL DESOLATION.

1. **ἄλλον.** See on xiv. 6.

ἐξουσίαν μεγάλην. Apparently for destruction: see on ix. 19 and xvi. 9.

καὶ...αὐτοῦ. Ezek. xliii. 2, LXX. *καὶ ἡ γῆ ἐξέλαμπεν ὡς φέγγος ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης κυκλόθεν. ἐφωτίσθη* may be meant to be closer to the Hebrew: later translators seem to have preferred the sense of *ἐξέλαμπεν.*

2. **ἔπεσεν, ἔπεσεν.** xiv. 8; Is. xxi. 9.

κατοικητήριον, "habitation." Similar vengeance is denounced on the literal Babylon, Is. xiii. 21, 22, and on Edom, id. xxxiv. 13—15. It is not quite certain which of the words used in those passages are names of demons or goblins, and which of terrestrial birds and beasts: but there is little doubt that Isaiah, like St John, means to describe *both* as occupying the desolated city.

φυλακή. "Hold" in A.V. is probably meant to signify a prison, not a fortress: the same word is translated "prison" ii. 10; 1 St Peter iii. 19, and again "cage" in this verse.

3. **τοῦ οἴνου.** See crit. note.

οἱ βασιλεῖς, xvii. 2.

οἱ ἔμποροι τῆς γῆς. Merchants are alluded to as frequenting the literal Babylon in Is. xlvii. 15; but the prominence given to them suggests the analogy not of Babylon but of Tyre: see on xvii. 1. Rome was in St John's day a wealthy and luxurious city, not a commercial city *primarily*, in the same sense as ancient Tyre and

modern London, but a city with an immense commerce, the commerce really belonging to the city, though the port of Ostia was considerably further from the Capitol than the Docks are from Westminster. What Rome was then it may, and probably will, be again: and there is no need to look elsewhere than at Rome for the literal fulfilment of St John's description, though some have thought it inappropriate to the geographical position of the city.

τοῦ στρήνους. This word is used 2 Kings xix. 28 to translate the Hebrew word translated *πικρία* in the parallel passage of Isaiah (xxxvii. 29); A.V. translates "tumult," R.V. text "arrogancy" and margin "careless ease" in both places. The compound verb 1 Tim. v. 11 throws no further light on the meaning, which probably includes wanton pride.

4—8. Her Pride and Sudden Fall.

4. ἐξέλθατε. Is. xlviii. 20, lii. 11; Jer. l. 8, li. 6, 9, 45; all referring to the flight of Israel from the literal Babylon. This passage is nearest to the last of those cited: but in the second there is also the suggestion, that the Lord's people *must* depart to secure their purity, as well as that they *will* depart to secure their liberty. They are, however, presumably dwellers at Babylon as captives, not as citizens: it can hardly be meant that any of them really *belong* to Babylon, or are loth to quit her (like Lot in Sodom) till the very eve of her fall.

ἵνα μὴ συνκ....ἵνα μὴ λάβητε. The second *ἵνα* is strangely placed, whether we consider what is usual in ordinary Greek or in the style of this writer, who here aims at and attains a symmetrical chiasmus where the two middle clauses correspond to each other, and the last corresponds with the first.

5. ἐκολλήθησαν. Lit. "were compacted," "clave together," i.e. mounted up in a solid mass.

6. ἀπόδοτε αὐτῇ ὡς καὶ αὐτὴ ἀπέδωκεν. "Render to her as she herself rendered." The thought is founded on Ps. cxxxvii. 8; Jer. l. 15, 29; and the expression on the former passage.

διπλώσατε. See Jer. xvi. 18; where however the vengeance is on the persecutors of the prophet in *Jerusalem*.

7. ὅτι...ἴδω. Is. xlvii. 7, 8: in *v.* 8 we have a reminiscence of the next verse of Isaiah, but less verbally close.

8. θάνατος καὶ πένθος καὶ λιμός. Mourning naturally comes after death, why famine after mourning? Is the order of the plagues first pestilence, with the streets full of mourners, then a siege and famine, then fire more terrible than the sword? There is certainly a succession, for famine is felt by degrees.

ἐν πυρὶ κατακαυθήσεται. So xvii. 16. While literally true of the city, the doom may refer to that pronounced by the Law on certain cases of foul fornication, Lev. xxi. 9, &c.

ὅτι ἰσχυρός. Jer. l. 34.

ὁ κρίνας. The voice is heard before the judgement is executed: the judgement was passed before the voice spoke.

9—19. The Lamentation over her on Earth.

9. οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς. Primarily, no doubt, the few vassal kings that were left in Syria and its neighbourhood. See also on xvii. 16.

τὸν καπνὸν τῆς πυρώσεως αὐτῆς. Cf. Gen. xix. 28.

10. διὰ τὸν φόβον, i.e. because of *their* fear. Their regret for her destruction is sincere, but does not make them forget themselves.

11. κλαίουσιν καὶ πενθοῦσιν. See crit. note. The present here between the futures in *vv.* 9 and 15 is more difficult than the past tenses in *v.* 18, which can be explained as in xi. 11. Apart from this, *vv.* 11—13 might seem to interrupt the connexion between *vv.* 10 and 14, and *vv.* 9, 10, 14 would be quite naturally continued by *vv.* 15—17. *vv.* 11—13 may have once stood before *v.* 4.

ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἀγοράζει. Their sorrow is even more purely selfish than that of the kings.

12, 13. See crit. notes. The various readings are partly due to deliberate attempts to carry either the accusative or the genitive through; partly perhaps to various very early combinations of two lists, one with the names in genitive and one in accusative; compare *ἵππων* and *κτήνη*, Lat. *jumenta*, and *σωμάτων* and *ψυχὰς ἀνθρώπων*. The whole passage should be compared with Ezek. xxvii. where the wealth and trade of Tyre is described in detail.

12. πᾶν ξύλον θύϊνον. Wood of the *thyia* or *thyion*, a kind of cypress or arbor vitae: apparently the same that was called *citrus* by the Romans and used for the costliest furniture.

σκεῦος. Both ivory and wood were used rather for furniture than "vessels" in our sense; it is not clear that marble was much used for either.

13. κιννάμωμον yielded a scented oil, and was also used for burning.

ἄμωμον. Chiefly used like *μύρον* for scenting the person.

θυμιάματα. Used for burning like *λίβανον*: the demand was large, as it was the commonest act of worship to cast incense on public or domestic altars.

ῥεδῶν. It is a little remarkable that travelling carriages, though the name is Gallic, were imported by sea.

σωμάτων. Ezek. xxvii. 14 *ἵπποι καὶ ἱππεῖς* (compared with *ἵππων ...σωμάτων* here) suggests that this *may* mean "drivers," or "grooms."

ψυχὰς ἀνθρώπων. Ezek. xxvii. 13 (where E. V. translates 'persons of men'). While we never find in the Bible an Englishman's horror of slavery as an institution, we are no doubt to understand that St John—perhaps even that Ezekiel—felt it to be cruel and unnatural to regard human beings as mere merchandise.

14. See on *v.* 11. If this verse is in its original context, the writer, after the long parenthesis of *vv.* 11—13, begins to quote without notice the lamentation of the merchants, which is introduced more regularly in *vv.* 16, 17; and *τούτων* in *v.* 15 seems to refer rather to the catalogue of merchandise than to *πάντα...λαμπρά.*

ἡ ὀπώρα σου...ψυχῆς. *σου* is generally made to depend upon *τῆς ἐπ. τῆς ψυχῆς.* In all other passages of the New Testament where *σου* stands before the substantive on which it depends, the word which comes before it has something of the force of a predicate, e.g. *τοῦ αἴροντός σου τὸ ἱμάτιον*, St Luke vi. 29: *ποῦ σου Θάνατε τὸ κέντρον*; 1 Cor. xv. 55: oftener it is a verb. The Latins, who read *σου* after *ὀπώρα*, not after *ψυχῆς*, like Alford, made it depend on *ὀπώρα.*

τὰ λιπαρὰ καὶ τὰ λαμπρά. The first of these words is only found three times in the Bible, Neh. ix. 35 of a fat land; Is. xxx. 23 of bread, and here, where translators are probably right in explaining it of dainty food; both words continue the thought of *ὀπώρα*, *λιπαρὰ* for enjoyment, *λαμπρὰ* for display: otherwise the commoner sense in Greek would be expressed in Latin by *omnia nitida* (not *pinguia*) *et splendida.*

εὑρήσουσιν. This impersonal verb, though quite in the manner of the writer, comes in strangely after the vehement apostrophe.

16. κεχρυσωμένη. See on xvii. 4.

17. πᾶς ὁ ἐπὶ τόπον πλέων. Vulg. renders *ac omnes qui in locum navigant*, which would mean "every one who saileth to the place," a more natural sense than that of R.V., "who saileth any whither." There is no known parallel in Biblical or other Greek for the curious phrase *ἐπὶ τόπον*: the nearest is *σεισμοὶ κατὰ τόπους*, St Matt. xxiv. 7. The Old Latin, and most probably the Coptic, read *πόντον* in some form. If the text be right the words probably stand for the merchants travelling in ships with their own goods, which they intend to sell on arriving at their destination—Lat. *vectores.*

ναῦται. Cf. Ezek. xxvii. 29 sqq.

ὅσοι τὴν θάλασσαν ἐργάζονται. The sense is general and includes all the three classes named, shipmasters, sailing merchants, and sailors. "Trade" in A.V. is defensible, as neither noun nor verb had any exclusive reference to commerce in the seventeenth century.

ἀπὸ μακρόθεν ἔστησαν. At this point, as in xi. 11, vision may be supposed to take the place of prediction, and so the seer narrates what has been shewn him. The pleonasm *ἀπὸ μακρόθεν* is characteristic of St Mark who has it five times, St Matthew has it twice (xxvi. 58 = Mc. xiv. 54, xxvii. 58 = Mc. xv. 40), St Luke twice (xvi. 23, xxiii. 49 = Mc. xv. 40) with an added reminiscence of Ps. xxxvii. 12 LXX. Kings, merchants, and shipmen when they land would all naturally go up to the great city, but they see the smoke of her torment and stand afar off.

18. τίς ὁμοία... Ezek. xxvii. 32.

19. ἔβαλον χοῦν. *Ibid.* 30.

20—24. The Rejoicing over her in Heaven.

20. εὐφραίνου ἐπ' αὐτῇ. xii. 12. There may be a reminiscence of Jer. li. 48. We cannot tell if the words are those of the Angel of *v.* 1, of the voice of *v.* 4, or of the seer himself: perhaps the second is most likely.

ἔκρινεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ κρίμα ὑμῶν. Lit., "judged your judgement," condemned her for her condemnation of you. Notice the mention of "apostles" as well as other "saints," as proving that apostles suffered in Rome; and so confirming the unanimous tradition as to the martyrdom there of SS. Peter and Paul. Notice also (in reference to the theory mentioned on ii. 2) St John's recognition of the latter as an apostle. Whether he had himself been condemned to death at Rome cannot be determined: the tradition to that effect was ancient, but not demonstrably *so* ancient, nor so widespread or so confirmed by scriptural evidence (see on St John's Gospel xxi. 18, 19).

21. καὶ ἔβαλεν κ.τ.λ. Jer. li. 63, 64.

οὕτως ὁρμήματι. Vg. *Hoc impetu.* R.V. "with a mighty fall."

22. φωνὴ κιθαρῳδῶν. Is. xiv. 11, of Babylon, Ezek. xxvi. 13, of Tyre, are certainly parallels: compare also Is. xxiv. 8, which is as similar as the passages of Jeremiah referred to on the following verse, and apparently, like them, spoken of the unfaithful Jerusalem.

φωνὴ μύλου οὐ. Jer. xxv. 10.

23. φωνὴ νυμφίου. Jer. vii. 34, xvi. 9. Weiss suggests that *v.* 14 originally stood here, having dropped out between ἔτι and ὅτι, and been replaced in the margin: it would certainly interrupt the connexion less here than where it stands.

ὅτι οἱ ἔμποροί σου κ.τ.λ. Is. xxiii. 8, of Tyre. See crit. note. The reading of the text though doubtful makes the reference still closer.

ἐν τῇ φαρμακίᾳ σου. Compare especially Nahum iii. 14.

24. καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ. As in the beginning of the Angel's speech Babylon is spoken of in the third person, it is possible that he returns to the third person at the end: possibly also St John passes from recording the Angel's denunciation to the impression made on his own mind by the judgement he witnessed.

πάντων...τῆς γῆς. Cf. Jer. li. 49, where however, if the A.V. be right, the sense is rather different. "The slain of all the earth" *here* seems to mean "the slain of (the spiritual) Israel," or at any rate the victims of her tyranny, *there*, the allies of Babylon who share in her fall.

CHAPTER XIX.

1. ὄχλου πολλοῦ. Primas. has *turbarum ingentium.* Vg. *turbarum multarum;* am. *tubarum m.*

καὶ ἡ δόξα. ℵ* omits. B_2 Syr. insert after δύναμις.

ἡ δύναμις. Primas. omits.

τοῦ θεοῦ. Text. Rec. reads *κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ* with 1 And^{a}. Latt. syr. *deo.*

2. ἔφθειρεν. A has *ἔκρινεν.*

3. εἴρηκαν. C has *εἶπαν.*

5. φωνὴ...λέγουσα. ℵ* has *φωναὶ...ἐξῆλθον λέγουσαι.*

ἡμῶν. Primas reads *vestrum.*

6. ὡς φωνήν. 1* Primas. omit *ὡς.*

ὄχλου πολλοῦ. Primas. *tubarum multarum.* So Amb. Aut., Beat. *quasi vocem tubae magnae.*

λεγόντων. ℵ *λεγούσων*, B_2 *λέγοντες.*

δῶμεν. Lach. reads *δώσομεν* with ℵ^{c}A.

9. καὶ...Γράψον. Arm. has *unus e presbyteris* after *καί. γράψον* is omitted by 1 And.$^{a, bav}$.

τοῦ γάμου. ℵ*P 1 And. omit.

οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι. ℵ* adds *μου.*

10. προσκυνῆσαι. P has *καὶ προσεκύνησα.*

τῷ θεῷ. Cyp. reads *Jesum dominum.*

ἡ...Ἰησοῦ. Areth. has *τοῦ υἱοῦ* for *Ἰησοῦ*; Primas. *sanctificatio enim testificationis.*

11. καλούμενος. Lach. omits with AP 1 Hipp. And.? Areth.: the reading of am. fu. tol. *vocabatur fidelis et verax vocatur* looks as if both verbs might be intrusive.

12. φλὸξ. Text. Rec. and Lach. prefix *ὡς* with A latt.

ὄνομα γεγραμμένον. ℵ^{c} substitutes and B_2 prefixes *ὀνόματα γεγραμμένα* (B_2 adding *καί*). Primas. has *nomen magnum scriptum*, i.q. *ὄνομα μέγα* which implies some corruption founded on *ὀνόματα.*

13. βεβαμμένον with AB_2 1; Tisch. *περιρεραμμένον* with ℵ* (latt. *aspers., conspers., spars.*). ℵ^{cc} *περιρεραντισμένον*, P *ῥεραντισμένον.* W. H. propose *ῥεραμμένον.*

15. ὀξεῖα. B_2 vg. prefix, Primas. substitutes *δίστομος.*

τοῦ θυμοῦ τῆς ὀργῆς. Cyp. Primas. syr. read *irae;* ℵ sah. Or. put *τοῦ θ.* after *τῆς ὀργῆς*; 95 before *τοῦ οἴνου.*

16. ἐπὶ τὸ ἱμ. καί. A æth.$^{rom.}$ Cass. omit.

ἐπὶ τὸν μηρόν. ℵ omits *ἐπί.*

17. ἕνα. ℵ cop. sah. arm. Haym. read *ἄλλον.* B_2 omits *ἕνα.*

20. καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ ὁ ψ. A cop. read *καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ ὁ ψ.*; B_2 *καὶ ὁ μετ' αὐτοῦ ψ.* Tyc. (ap. Beatum) reads *pseudoprophetae.*

ζῶντες. Primas. omits.

οἱ δύο. Arm. æth. omit.

τῆς καιομένης. With ℵAP And.$^{bav.}$ vg.; Text. Rec. *τὴν καιομένην* with B_2 cett.

CH. XIX. 1—6. FURTHER THANKSGIVINGS.

1. λεγόντων is almost as nearly connected with *ἤκουσα* as with *ὄχλου*.

ἡ σωτηρία...τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν. Generally explained "Salvation [belongeth] to our God." Cf. vii. 10; also iv. 11, v. 12, 13, vii. 12. *ὦ βάθος πλούτου καὶ σοφίας*, Rom. xi. 33, might represent another not impossible construction.

2. For the joy of the Saints in sympathy with God's judgement see on xiv. 10. There is a passage somewhat like this in Enoch xlvii. 4: "Then were the hearts of the saints full of joy, because the number of righteousness was arrived, the supplication of the saints heard, and the blood of the righteous appreciated by the Lord of Spirits."

3. καὶ...ἀναβαίνει. Both the tense and the conjunction prove that the clause is part of the anthem.

εἰς...αἰώνων. Hence Tyconius, excerpted by the homilist *ap.* St Augustine, Tom. III. Hom. xviii., inferred that Babylon was more than any single city, being the world-wide mystical city of pride.

4. καὶ ἔπεσαν...ἀλληλούϊα. Cf. v. 14, where also the thanksgiving closes with the homage of the Living Creatures and the Elders.

5. ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου. Possibly the voice of Christ, cf. iii. 21.

αἰνεῖτε. Compare the opening of Pss. cxxxiv., cxxxv.

6—9. THE PROCLAMATION OF THE MARRIAGE OF THE LAMB.

6. ὄχλου πολλοῦ. *v.* 1.

ὑδάτων πολλῶν. i. 15, xiv. 2.

βροντῶν ἰσχυρῶν. vi. 1, xiv. 2.

ἐβασίλευσεν. The aorist is quite appropriate though quite untranslateable. By destroying Babylon which reigned over all kings, God took the Kingdom and is glorified for this act. R.V. rightly retains the present of A.V.

ὁ παντοκράτωρ. Rather a name than an epithet, see on i. 8.

7. χαίρωμεν. The joy of the festival which makes heaven and earth one follows inseparably on the joy of the judgement on earth.

δῶμεν. The present subjunctive of this verb is not found in the New Testament, and even in the indicative the aorists are far commoner. If we read *δώσομεν* the construction will be substantially as in Mic. iv. 2, *ἀναβῶμεν...καὶ δείξουσιν ἡμῖν*, though there the change of person makes it clear.

ὁ γάμος τοῦ ἀρνίου. The first suggestion of this image in the N.T. is in our Lord's parables, St Matt. xxii. 3, xxv. 1—10: it is more fully worked out by St Paul, Eph. v. 22—32. But men's minds were prepared for it by the language of all the Prophets about the spiritual marriage of the Lord and Israel: still more, perhaps, by that of the 45th Psalm, rising so far above the royal marriage that no doubt furnished its occasion. And there is little doubt that the

Song of Songs was already mystically interpreted among the Jews, though its claim to a place in the Canon was still disputed.

ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ. Called by St John "the New Jerusalem," xxi. 2, by St Paul, Gal. iv. 26, "Jerusalem above," as well as more simply the Church, Eph. v. 23 sqq.

8. καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῇ. "It was given to her"—the form is the same as recurs so often throughout the vision, from vi. 2 onwards. This being so, it is not likely that this clause still forms part of the proclamation of the voice: it is the Seer's description of the "making herself ready" which the voice proclaimed.

τὰ δικαιώματα, "righteous acts." Every good work done by every single saint goes to make up the perfect glory of the Church as it shall be when at last complete. The doctrine of the Communion of Saints is contained in, or follows from, that of the holy Catholic Church.

9. καὶ λέγει. Who speaks? Plainly an angel (see *v.* 10), presumably the angel of xvii. 1. Possibly the same as the angel of i. 1.

μακάριοι. St John and "they that hear the words of this prophecy, and keep those things which are written therein" (i. 3) are made to realise heartily what our Lord's fellow-guest (St Luke xiv. 15) said without seeing the full force of his own words. Of course, when we reduce the image to plain prose, "they that are called" are the same as the Bride: while St Paul again speaks of them as her children. All will rejoice together, and each will rejoice apart; each will have a joy of his own, and each will have his own sight of the joy of all.

10. The Error of the Seer.

The last words of the angel seem fit "to seal up the vision and prophecy," and what follows gives a certain plausibility to Völter's suggestion that at one time (or in one recension) the Apocalypse ended here.

10. προσκυνῆσαι αὐτῷ. Perhaps understanding from the last words that the speaker was God Himself. This is more probable than Weiss's conjecture that the Seer took him for Christ, to Whom it is possible to ascribe all the previous commands to write, i. 11, xiv. 13, as well as i. 19. In i. 17 the Seer falls down at His Feet, and is raised up again apparently without worshipping. In the O.T. God had revealed Himself to men by means of angels, and men had, by falling at the feet of angels, rightly worshipped the God Who was present in them (see esp. Hos. xii. 4 compared with Gen. xxxii. 30). But since a more perfect revelation of God has been given by the Incarnation, no such divine presence in an angel is to be looked for. (So Jer. Taylor, *Dissuasive from Popery*, Part II. II. viii. 3.) We have therefore no need to suppose that the holy apostle was in intent guilty of idolatry; he meant the worship for

God in the angel, but *this* being an angel and nothing more, it follows of course that he ought not to be honoured as God. See xxii. 8.

σύνδουλός σου εἰμί. In a sense, the angels are even servants to the elect on earth, Heb. i. 14.

τῶν ἐχόντων...Ἰησοῦ. Cf. xxii. 9, *τῶν ἀδελφῶν σου τῶν προφητῶν.* The last words of the verse give the reason (*γάρ*) why the two phrases are equivalent. Cf. for *τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ* i. 2, vi. 9, and closest of all, xii. 17. In all these *μαρτυρία* comes near to the sense, that became technical, of "martyrdom."

ἡ γὰρ μαρτυρία. Comparing xxii. 9 with the passages last cited, it seems that the sense of the passage is, "Martyrdom like thine" (the seer was at least a confessor, i. 2, perhaps, as tradition says, a *proved* martyr in will) "and thy brethren's involves in it the grace of prophecy, and so places the martyrs in so close communion with God that they need no angel mediator." But what is said to St John as a prophet is in its measure true of all Christians. All in their measure are witnesses for Christ, and all partakers of His Spirit; and therefore all are prophets in the same sense that they are all priests and kings. Thus all, if not *yet* "equal with the angels" (St Luke xx. 36), are brought too near to God to need angels to bring Him near to them.

11—21. The Victory of the Rider on the White Horse.

There is no clear mark in the text that we have the beginning of a new vision here after the apparent break in *vv.* 9, 10. But for this break the connexion would be:—the seer *hears* the joyful summons to the Marriage of the Lamb, perhaps has a glimpse of the Bride in her white array; then Heaven is opened, he *sees* the Bridegroom in His robe red with blood, with the armies of Heaven in His train: again he sees the Herald Angel who bids all the fowls of the air to the bloody supper of the great God: he sees the doom of the Beast, and the False Prophet, and their host.

11. τὸν οὐρανὸν ἠνεῳγμένον. Ezek. i. 1; St Matt. iii. 16, and parallels, St John i. 51; Acts vii. 56, x. 11. Something more seems to be implied than in iv. 1; the "door" through which the seer was called up is not sufficient to let out this mounted army, or "the chariot of paternal Deity" which appeared to Ezekiel.

ἵππος λευκός, vi. 2, where see note. Here at least, there is no doubt about the interpretation.

ὁ καθήμενος. Connected like the previous words with *ἰδού.*

καλούμενος. He is called Faithful and True (iii. 14, also i. 15, iii. 7), and rightly, but these are not His Name.

ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ. Is. xi. 4, 5, Ps. xcvi. (xcv.) 13.

πολεμεῖ. In Ps. xlv. 3—5 (4—6) we have the same mixture as here of the Bridegroom with the triumphant Warrior. Compare St

Chrysostom on Rom. xiii. 12, "Fear not at hearing of array and arms...for it is of light that the arms are...As the bridegroom goes forth with joyous looks from his chamber, so doth he too who is defended with these arms; for he is at once soldier and bridegroom."

12. οἱ δὲ ὀφθαλμοί. i. 14.

διαδήματα πολλά. These are distinctively *kingly* crowns, see on iv. 4, vi. 2. Their *number* marks Him as King of kings, *v.* 16: perhaps also as both King and Priest, as in Zech. vi. 11 sqq., and in the use of the triple crown by modern popes. Tyconius thinks of the "multitudo coronatorum": their glory *is* His.

ἔχων, like **πλήρης**, St John i. 14. This nominative is connected in sense with the preceding parenthetical clause, while the only possible construction for it is to be found in a forced connexion with the finite verbs before the parenthesis.

ὄνομα γεγραμμένον. See crit. note. The name is probably on the forehead (as xiv. 1).

ὃ οὐδεὶς οἶδεν, ii. 17; for the Lord having such a name, see iii. 12, and notes on both places.

13. βεβαμμένον. See crit. note. There is nothing to suggest either *βεβαυμένον*, *ῥεραντισμένον*, or *ῥεραμμένον* in Is. lxiii. 1, 3, LXX.: the Hebrew would suggest both, "Theodotion" at any rate the latter: whichever be the original reading the other is probably an additional reference to Isaiah: for until there was a system of something like chapters and verses, marginal or interlinear quotations had to serve the purpose now served by marginal references. In Isaiah the Conqueror is described as stained with the blood of *His enemies*. If this decides the *primary* meaning here, it is legitimate for the Christian to remember, in interpreting both passages, that the *way* that Christ overcomes His enemies is by shedding, not their blood, but His own. Moreover in Isaiah the Redeemer and champion of Israel is the Father rather than Christ: so that, as the figure has certainly received some change in its application, it is unobjectionable to suppose a *direct* reference to the Passion. If so, as this passage obviously refers back to the vision of the Man Child, it would be impossible to regard that vision as purely Jewish.

ὁ Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ. The only place in Scripture (unless Heb. iv. 12 is to be so interpreted, which is not probable) where this exact phrase is used of the *personal* Word, the Son of God. But of course the use of "the Word" in St John i. 1 is the same in principle and meaning.

14. τὰ στρατεύματα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. According to ordinary O.T. usage (e.g. 1 Kings xxii. 19) this would mean the holy Angels exclusively, or at least primarily. But some think that the glorified Saints are at least included: it seems in harmony with the ideas of this Book to represent them, not indeed as executing Christ's vengeance (which the Angels do, xiv. 19, St Matt. xiii. 39—42), but as spectators of His triumph, which is all that these armies seem to be.

βύσσινον λευκὸν καὶ καθαρόν. The dress of Angels in St Matt. xxviii. 3 and parallels, Acts i. 10; but of Saints in this Book, iii. 4, vii. 9, and probably iv. 4: compare the almost exactly similar words of *v.* 8. Here this costume contrasts with the blood-dyed one of their Leader. The contrast is plainly intentional (for the mention of the armies interrupts the description of the Leader). If we explain it by supposing that they have no need to take part in the work of slaughter, it will follow, since there is blood on His raiment, that He has already executed judgement on Jerusalem and trodden the winepress there, xiv. 20, and is now to do the like to the kings of the earth. If the armies in heaven are Saints, as the ancients seem to suppose, we must understand that their robes are washed white in His Blood, vii. 14, which perhaps weakens the contrast which is expressed by pointing to another which is not. *οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ*, xvii. 14, are most naturally explained as the faithful on earth. On the whole it seems simplest to take the heavenly armies for the Angels, the rather that the Saints who are to reign with Christ have not yet risen at this point of the vision.

15. ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ. So i. 16, proving, if proof were needed, the identity of the "Son of Man" of that passage with "the Word of God" of this. For the meaning, see the notes there.

πατάξῃ τὰ ἔθνη. God is said to smite men with plagues, e.g. Zech. xiv. 18, but nowhere else with a sword. Are we to infer from 1 Chron. xxi. 12 what this sword will be? Certainly the ascription to the Lord of the fierce struggles of a human warrior is markedly avoided.

καὶ αὐτὸς ποιμανεῖ. Lit. "shall be their shepherd," as in ii. 27, xii. 5. Of course in all three places the reference is to Ps. ii. 9.

καὶ αὐτὸς πατεῖ. Is. lxiii. 2. The twice repeated pronoun is very emphatic: it is He who shall fulfil the promised vengeance for which the elect have cried so long.

τὴν ληνὸν τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ θυμοῦ τῆς ὀργῆς. Cf. xiv. 8, 10, 19, xvi. 19.

16. ἐπὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν μηρόν. See crit. note. The meaning probably is "on the vesture of His thigh," i.e. on the border of His cloak. Strangely enough the name of a statue was sometimes put on the thigh; this possibly suggested the image: the vesture is mentioned to shew the name was not on the flesh.

βασιλεὺς βασιλέων καὶ κύριος κυρίων. Cf. xvii. 14, and *θεὸς τῶν θεῶν καὶ κύριος τῶν κυρίων καὶ βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλέων* Dan. iv. 31 (LXX.). Βασ. *βασιλέων* is found on Parthian coins.

17. ἕνα ἄγγελον. Probably *ἕνα* is merely the indefinite article as in viii. 13, though here it is possible to think of one angel standing apart from the heavenly armies who roll by.

ἐν τῷ ἡλίῳ. Perhaps he is the Angel of the Sun (like the other elemental angels in xvi. 5 and perhaps xiv. 18): but the *ἕνα* makes

this less likely. Probably he is stationed there only as in a position commanding the *μεσουράνημα* (on this word see on viii. 13).

πᾶσιν τοῖς ὀρνέοις. Ezek. xxxix. 17 sqq., of the slaughter of Gog and Magog: from which however this slaughter seems to be distinguished, see xx. 8, 9.

δεῦτε, συνάχθητε. The imperative immediately after *δεῦτε* is found twice in St John, iv. 29, xxi. 12; once in St Matt. xxviii. 6, nowhere else in New Testament. *δεῦτε* in the Septuagint commonly represents a Hebrew verb, and it is not certain that *δεῦρο ἀκολούθει* Matt. xix. 21 and parallels is exactly similar.

τὸ δεῖπνον τὸ μέγα τοῦ θεοῦ. In Ezek. l.c. it is called a *sacrifice*, sacrifices being the only ordinary occasion for a feast of flesh: cf. Is. xxxiv. 6, which was probably in Ezekiel's mind.

18. χιλιάρχων. See on vi. 15.

19. τὸ θηρίον, καὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς. Their confederacy under his leadership has been already intimated, xvi. 14, 16, xvii. 12—14. The so-called battle of Armageddon, there foretold, is here described.

20. ἐπιάσθη. Like a thief or a rebel. The word is found oftener in the Fourth Gospel than in all the rest of the New Testament. It is found six times of schemes to 'take' Christ; twice in the narrative of the miraculous draught of fishes; twice in the Acts, once of the arrest of St Peter; once in St Paul of the attempt to arrest him at Damascus.

ὁ ψευδοπροφήτης. So called in xvi. 13; see xiii. 11 sqq.

τὰ σημεῖα. Those described in xiii. 13 sqq.

ζῶντες ἐβλήθησαν. In Dan. vii. 11 the Beast is slain, and his body burnt. Perhaps the one indicates the fate of the empire, the other of its personal ruler.

τῆς καιομένης. As if after *τὸ πῦρ τῆς λίμνης*, cf. xxi. 8 *ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ τῇ καιομένῃ πυρὶ καὶ θείῳ*.

21. οἱ λοιποί. They are not, at least at once, consigned to the same eternal torment as their leaders; but see xiv. 10, xx. 15.

ἐν τῇ ῥομφαίᾳ τοῦ καθημένου. None of His followers have need to bear part in the battle: indeed they seem to bear no arms, *v.* 14. Compare the grand passage of St Chrysostom, in his 24th Homily on the Epistle to the Romans (on xiii. 12), already partly quoted on *v.* 11. "What then, is there no necessity for thee to fight? Yea, needful is it to fight, yet not to be distressed and toil. For it is not in fact war, but a solemn dance and feast day; such is the nature of the arms, such the power of the Commander." The victory is so plainly designated as one to be gained by purely spiritual means, that it is by no means certain that the armies to be overthrown are to be understood of an actual military confederacy. More probably, the confederacy of the powers of the world, under the leadership of Antichrist, will be primarily intellectual and spiritual.

CHAPTER XX.

1. ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. ℵ* omits.

ἐπὶ τὴν χεῖρα. ℵ and Latt. have *ἐν τῇ χειρί.*

2. ὁ ὄφις ὁ ἀρχαῖος. With A: Text. Rec. *τὸν ὄφιν τὸν ἀρχαῖον* with ℵB_2 cett.

ὅς. Tisch. has *ὅ* with ℵ and Aug. *qui cognominatus est*, Promiss. *qui vocatur.*

διάβολος καὶ ὁ Σατανᾶς. Tisch. *ὁ δ.* with ℵ; B_2 adds *ὁ πλανῶν τὴν οἰκουμένην ὅλην* from xii. 9.

3. ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ. A has *ἐμμενῶς* (? = *ἐμπεδῶς*) *αὐτόν.*

ἔτι τὰ ἔθνη. 1 cop. æth. Tyc. omit *ἔτι.* Text. Rec. inserts it after *ἔθνη.*

4. πεπελεκισμένων. A has *πεπολεμημένων.*

καὶ οἵτινες. ℵ has *εἴ τινες οὖν.* And^{a}. *εἴ τινες.* Aug. *et si qui*, Cyp. *et quicumque.*

5. οἱ λοιποὶ—ἔτη. ℵ syr. omit these words (? from homœoteleuton); they interrupt the sense.

τῶν νεκρῶν. Aug. reads *eorum.*

6. τοῦ θεοῦ. ℵ has *καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ.*

7. ὅταν τελεσθῇ. B_2 reads *μετά.*

8. συναγαγεῖν. Aug. reads *et trahet.* Vg. *et congregabit.* 12 *καὶ συνάγει.*

9. πῦρ...εἰς τὴν λίμνην. ℵ* omits.

ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. So Text. Rec. Treg. W. H. marg. with ℵ^{c}P vg. syr.; Lach. Tisch. W. H. Weiss *ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ* with A and Primas. transcript of Aug., who seems to have read *ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ* after *ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ* with B_2 cop. arm.

10. ὅπου καί. Text. Rec. omits *καὶ* with ℵ 1 Hieron. cop. arm. æth.

θηρίον καί. ℵ adds *ὅπου.*

11. ἐπ' αὐτοῦ with A 1 95, Tisch. reads *ἐπ' αὐτὸν* with B_2P_1. ℵ *ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ.*

12. ἑστῶτας.. θρόνου. Augustin omits. Text. Rec. has *θεοῦ* for *θρόνου*, with 1, two Latin writers have *throni domini*, and *throni dei.*

τῆς ζωῆς. Aug. has *vitae uniuscujusque.*

13. ἔδωκαν. Lach. reads *ἔδωκεν* with A.

ἐκρίθησαν. ℵ reads *κατεκρίθησαν.*

14. οὗτος. ℵ reads *καὶ οὗτος.* 1 cop. and Primas. transcript of Augustin omit *οὗτος...πυρός*, nor does Augustin anywhere quote this definition of the second death, though he gives many of his own; when he says that in the second death soul and body are tormented

together by eternal fire he is obviously thinking of the synoptic Gospels; Text. Rec. omits *ἡ λίμνη τοῦ πυρός* with the later vulgate, the older MSS. of which recognise the words in whole or in part.

15. εὑρέθη. ℵ *εὑρεθήσεται.*

Ch. XX. 1—6. The Binding of Satan. The First Resurrection.

1. τῆς ἀβύσσου. See on ix. 1.

ἐπὶ τὴν χεῖρα. i.e. hung over it.

2. ὁ ὄφις ὁ ἀρχαῖος. xii. 9. No explanation can be given of the nominative here except irregular apposition: it is no help to suppose that the clause represents an indeclinable proper name.

3. καὶ ἔκλεισεν καὶ ἐσφράγισεν ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ. The pit which was opened ix. 2 is now sealed again.

τὰ ἔθνη. To be taken quite literally, though it probably limits the meaning of the passages which seem to speak of all but the elect worshipping the Beast. These are pressed by St Irenaeus to the uttermost, so that he supposes the Saints to reign over the surviving faithful who rapidly repeople the desolate earth, and fulfil the prophecies of a little one becoming a thousand and rebuilding the old waste places. Possibly we are to suppose that the Angelic warnings of xiv. 6—11 are not wholly unfruitful.

δεῖ αὐτὸν λυθῆναι. It is very remarkable that neither St Irenaeus nor St Justin are known to speak of this.

4. θρόνους. Cf. Dan. vii. 9, *θρόνοι ἐτέθησαν καὶ παλαιὸς ἡμερῶν ἐκάθητο.* 26 *κριτήριον ἐκάθισε.* They who sat upon the thrones are identified by Dan. vii. 22 as "the Saints of the Most High"—saints plainly in the modern sense as distinguished from angels.

κρίμα ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς. In itself this might mean "their cause was judged," but as *τὸ κρίμα* Dan. vii. 22 seems to be parallel to *ἡ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ ἐξουσία καὶ ἡ μεγαλωσύνη τῶν βασιλέων τῶν ὑποκάτω παντὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ib.* 27 probably *κρίμα* in both places means "the right of judging," as is most likely assumed 1 Cor. vi. 2, 3.

καὶ τὰς ψυχάς. The Seer beholds the fulfilment of the promise in Daniel to the saints of the ancient law, and sharing their glory he sees all martyrs and all confessors of the latter days.

τῶν πεπελεκισμένων. Lit. "struck with an axe," the old Roman mode of execution by sentence of the supreme magistrate. Capital punishment of citizens had been virtually abolished for the last years of the Republic: and when the emperors assumed the right of executing men for treason, it was done as though by military law (cf. St Mark vi. 27) by a soldier, with a sword. But the old constitutional punishment was inflicted on *provincials* down to the fall of the Republic (Cic. *Phil.* xiii. xvi. 33); and it is not impossible that it was revived when it was desired that a citizen should be executed in due form of law.

οἵτινες...αὐτῶν. xiii. 12, 15, 16. The promise extends to all who pass undefiled through the perils of the last time, whether they die a natural death, or "are alive and remain" to the coming of the Lord. *οἵτινες* probably also marks that their faithfulness is the reason that they share the glory of ancient saints and of earlier martyrs.

ἐβασίλευσαν μετὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ. 2 Tim. ii. 12. This "reign" was foretold in v. 10. "The nations" of the world continue to exist as usual (*v.* 3), so it is no doubt over them that the saints and martyrs reign.

4, 5. χίλια ἔτη...ἡ ἀνάστασις ἡ πρώτη. See Excursus IV.

6. μακάριος καὶ ἅγιος. He is sure of eternal blessedness, absolutely and indefeasibly consecrated to God. "Holy" refers to the relation to God into which this brings him, not to the foregoing faithfulness that is implied in his being admitted into it.

ὁ δεύτερος θάνατος. See ii. 11 and *v.* 14 (the article is doubled in both). Cf. Rom. vi. 9, 10.

οὐκ ἔχει ἐξουσίαν. The coupling of the second death, which cannot be taken literally as implying annihilation (see *v.* 10), with the first resurrection in some degree lessens the difficulty of taking the latter figuratively, though as the body which is raised even to dishonour is spiritual, we cannot say that the first resurrection is spiritual and the general resurrection natural.

ἔσονται ἱερεῖς. Cf. i. 6, v. 10.

τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ. The strongest proof, perhaps, in the Book of the doctrine of Christ's coequal Deity. If we read these words in the light of St John's Gospel, or of the Nicene Creed, they suggest no difficulty; but without the doctrine there taught, they make salvation to consist in the deadly sin which the Moslems call "association"—the worshipping the creature by the side of the Creator. Notice, however, that the *word* "God" in this book always means the Father; and so throughout the N.T., with few exceptions.

7—10. The Loosing of Satan, the War of Gog and Magog, the Judgement on the Devil.

The order of events in the last three chapters in this Book corresponds, with many additions, to that in the closing chapters of Ezekiel. The first Resurrection answers to the Vision of the Valley of dry bones. The War of Gog and Magog in Ezekiel is to be the last great trial of the restored theocracy (as the old theocracy had been tried and for a season purified by the terror of the Scythian invasion in the days of Josiah); after the War of Gog and Magog both in Ezekiel and here comes the full description of the final glory of Zion.

7. λυθήσεται. As we heard in *v.* 3. We cannot with any certainty identify the *μικρὸν χρόνον* there with the *ὀλίγον καιρὸν* of xii. 12; still the two passages to a certain extent illustrate each other.

8. τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ἐν ταῖς τέσσαρσιν γωνίαις τῆς γῆς. It almost seems as though the kingdom of Christ and of His Saints had not been world-wide, but had been, like the Roman empire of St John's day, or the Christendom of our own, a wide but limited region of light in the midst of a barbarous world. It is not therefore certain that the coming of the kingdom must be postponed till Christianity has gained its victory over the compact mass of nations which, from China to Guinea, still hold out against it: and we ought to remember the possibility, that they may prove as dangerous to the fabric of modern civilisation as the barbarians of Scythia, Germany, and Arabia proved to the ancient. But it is possible that this prediction refers, not to an incursion from outlying heathens, but to an apostacy of outlying Christians. If so, this may be illustrated by the way that the remoter provinces of Christendom fell into heresy in the fifth and following centuries, and were, in great measure as a consequence, absorbed in Islam afterwards. We may also think of the many wild and unchristian sects rising in our own time in America and in Russia—the countries of Christendom remotest from its centres of intellectual life.

τὸν Γὼγ καὶ [τὸν] Μαγώγ. See Ezek. xxxviii., xxxix.—a prophecy which *may*, for aught we know, have had some nearly contemporary fulfilment, but which the Jewish traditions interpret of a war in the days of the Messiah, nearly as here. Magog is given in Gen. x. 2 as the name of a son of Japhet, the eponymus, there is no doubt, of one of the nations lying near the Black Sea, and called by Europeans Scythian in the wide sense. Gog appears in Ezek. l. c. to be not a national name, but the name, whether personal or dynastic, of the king of Magog and the neighbouring or kindred tribes of Rosh, Meshech, and Tubal. The resemblance of two of these names to the modern *Russia* and *Muscovy* is merely accidental: but it would be rash to deny the possibility, that the geographical or ethnological suggestion is to be taken literally, and that St John does foretell an invasion, something like that of the Huns, or Tartars, and falling on Christendom from the same quarter.

συναγαγεῖν. Nearly a repetition of xvi. 14, xvii. 12, 14, xix. 19. Yet it can hardly describe the same event: it seems plain that, whatever be the meaning of the first resurrection and the thousand years' reign, they intervene between that war and this. Moreover, the former war was on the part of the rulers of the civilised world, this on the part of the outer barbarians.

9. καὶ ἀνέβησαν. The Seer does not pass easily over the immense space of time during which the world is too happy to have a history. He *sees* the establishment of the earthly kingdom of Christ, and *foretells* its end: it is only gradually that he comes to see the end also brought before his view as present.

ἐπὶ τὸ πλάτος τῆς γῆς. The breadth of the land. They overspread the whole land of Israel, against which, as we see from the next clause, their attack is directed.

τὴν παρεμβολὴν τῶν ἁγίων. Possibly "the army," as in Heb. xi. 34; here all English translators have "the camp" with A.V.

τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἠγαπημένην, i.e. Jerusalem, which, it appears from this place only, will be the seat and capital of the millennial kingdom. It appears that in the popular millennial anticipations, which discredited the literal interpretation of this prophecy, this localisation of the kingdom was much insisted on, and it was even thought that the Jewish law and the sacrificial worship would be revived. This of course is utterly incredible to an orthodox Christian: but there is no difficulty in supposing that the Kingdom of God may literally have an earthly centre in the Holy City and the Holy Land. Even if the literal view be not taken, the prophecy can hardly imply less than a future purity of the Church far exceeding the present; and it may be that this purified Church will recognise a better Papacy at Jerusalem, one not too proud to learn either from the excellences or from the faults of the Roman.

καὶ κατέβη πῦρ. Cf. 2 Kings i. 10, and ch. xi. 5, and even xiii. 13. This does not agree with the description of Gog's overthrow in Ezek. xxxix., where the army lie slain till they are buried, and their weapons are broken up for firewood.

Remarkable as it is that St Irenaeus appears to say nothing of the loosing of Satan, it is still more remarkable that St Hippolytus is known (*Hermathena* Vol. VI. p. 404) to have laid down in his work against Caius that the destruction of Gog and Magog was to precede that of Antichrist.

10. ὁ πλανῶν αὐτούς. The sense is general, as if we were to say "their deceiver."

εἰς τὴν λίμνην. xix. 20.

ὅπου καὶ... If we are to try to fill up the ellipse, which no reader of the original would feel necessary, *ἐβλήθησαν* would be better than *εἰσίν*. That they are there still, not consumed by their more than thousand years of torment, is not stated in this clause, but is in the next.

καὶ βασανισθήσονται. The subject is all three.

εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Lit. "to the ages of the ages," as strong an expression for absolute endlessness as Biblical language affords. The expression "*ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς*" seems hardly consistent with the view often expressed, that the eternity here spoken of is unaccompanied with a sense of duration like that which we call time.

St Thomas Aquinas who inferred from x. 6 that time (measured by the motion of heavenly bodies) will end with the resurrection, and from Is. lx. 20 that the sun and moon of the new heavens will never set, also inferred from Job xxiv. 19 "*ad nimium calorem transeat*

ab aquis nivium" that the lost would have a change of torments, and that this decides the sense of Ps. lxxx. 16 (lxxxi. 15), "*Inimici Domini mentiti sunt ei, et erit tempus eorum in saecula*," so that the lost live in everlasting time, while the blessed who see God are partakers of His eternity which is whole at every instant, *Summa*, Pars Prima, Quaestio x. Artic. 3, 6. Not that this eternal blessedness excludes a succession of subordinate delights. St Augustin half hoped, *De Trin.* xv. [xvi.] 26, that in the saints the endless round of changing thought would be still at last, St Thomas (*ubi sup.*) answers that it would not affect their changeless vision of the changeless Word. So too the glorified body will range at will through space to behold all the beautiful things God has made without leaving His presence. *Sup.* 3, Tertiae Partis Quaest. lxxxiv. Artic. 2. Respect for St Thomas' view may have led the translators of the Bible and the "Athanasian Creed" to introduce what has struck many as an arbitrary distinction between everlasting punishment and life eternal.

11—15. The Great White Throne, the General Resurrection, the Judgement on all the Dead and on Death and Hell.

11. θρόνον μέγαν λευκόν. Probably not absolutely the same as that of iv. 2 &c.: the King is to sit now not as Lawgiver or Administrator but as Judge. Possibly it is called "great" as compared with the thrones of *v.* 4; "white," of course, as symbolical of the holiness and purity of the judgement to be administered.

τὸν καθήμενον ἐπ' αὐτοῦ. This has throughout, from iv. 2 onwards, been universally the title of God the Father. Moreover, the description of the Great Assize here is substantially the same as that of Dan. vii. 9, 10: and there the Ancient of Days, Who sits on the throne, is plainly distinguished from the Son of Man. Therefore we are no doubt to understand the presence of the Father here, in spite of St John v. 22, 27. There is no contradiction, if we take a duly high view of the relation between the Father and the Son. St Paul's doctrine, Acts xvii. 31; Rom. ii. 16 (allowing that Tit. ii. 13 is ambiguous), shews the accurate relation between the two sides of the truth: and ch. iii. 21, compared with our Lord's own words in St Matt. xvi. 27 and parallels, shews the propriety of this image.

οὗ ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου. The passing away of earth and heaven is spoken of in Is. li. 6, St Matt. xxiv. 35 and parallels; but the strong expression of their fleeing before God's presence is peculiar to this place: Ps. civ. 32, however, is something of a precedent. That the destruction will be by fire is not stated here, or anywhere but in 2 Pet. iii. 10, 12, and perhaps 2 Thess. i. 7, 8. In St Peter l. c. we have this destruction of the world by fire compared with the destruction by the Flood, and this parallel seems to have been recognised in popular Jewish belief. Popular Christian belief continued the series, by interpolating between the two a purely mythical "flood of wind" (which may be a reminiscence or expansion of the legend how the winds cast down the tower which Nebuchadnezzar says none of his predecessors could complete); the same idea is found, curiously enough, in the

Mexican mythology, which completed the elemental series with a destruction by earthquakes. The lesson of all this seems to be, that the Deluge is a matter of universal tradition, and that the destructibility of the world is recognised by a universal instinct: but that the *manner* of its destruction is not so revealed, that it can safely be conceived by us in picturesque detail. The destruction of our globe, perhaps of the whole solar system, by fire is quite within the bounds of possibility, even according to the known laws of nature; but those laws more naturally suggest the world literally "waxing old like a garment, and them that dwell therein dying like a moth," and the elements rather congealing with cold than "melting with fervent heat." On the other hand, passages like Acts x. 42; 1 Thess. iv. 15; 2 Tim. iv. 1; 1 Pet. iv. 5 seem plainly to prove that the human race will not be extinct when that Day comes, but that there will be "the quick" as well as "the dead" ready to undergo the Judgement. But the judgement of the dead only is described here. St John had learnt, as St Paul had not, that the dead would be the larger class of the two: whether he learnt it from his own longer life, or from the length of time implied in this vision.

καὶ τόπος οὐχ εὑρέθη αὐτοῖς. The phrase is a reminiscence of Dan. ii. 35; we had a similar one in xii. 8.

12. τοὺς μεγάλους καὶ τοὺς μικρούς. The sense, as in xix. 5, is probably to indicate the nothingness of human distinctions before God. Those who are "great in the Kingdom of Heaven" have been raised already, *vv.* 4, 5.

ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου. "The throne" in this Book without addition is always the throne of God: so the gloss which has superseded the text in T. R. is correct. It may have arisen from the question discussed under *τὸν καθήμενον* sup.

βιβλία, simply books: see Dan. vii. 13, where also the article (or equivalent form) is wanting. In the *Testament of Abraham* pp. 91, 93 there are two angels at the right and left of the judgement seat of Abel, one always writing down good deeds and the other evil. The book, six cubits thick and ten cubits broad, which lies on a table before the judge, seems to contain the history of every soul, for when it is opened for a certain woman who comes into judgement it is found that her good deeds and her sins are equal. In another text, *ib.* 114, 115, Enoch the Scribe of Righteousness seems to make up the account of each soul from two books carried by cherubim (forgiven sins being blotted out of the book that Enoch keeps). This is doubtless implied in the curious Latin gloss (see crit. note) on *τῆς ζωῆς*. In the Coptic Apocalypse of Zephaniah there are two angels at heaven's gate who write the good deeds of the righteous and they are carried up to the Lord that He may write their names in the Book of the Living. Probably the books opened here are records like those kept by the angels in the Apocryphal apocalypses, but they bear a different relation to the Book of Life, where it is plain from xvii. 8 and probable from xiii. 8, the elect are written before they have done good or evil. The record of their righteous acts proves that they have been enabled to

walk worthy of their calling. In this sense Alford is right in calling the books in this clause 'vouchers for the Book of Life.'

ὅ ἐστιν τῆς ζωῆς. See iii. 5, xiii. 8, xxi. 27: also note on v. 1. The image is used exactly in this sense in Dan. xii. 1, though the phrase "Book of Life" is not used. We have a near approach to that in Ps. lxix. 28, but there and in Ex. xxxii. 32, 33 it is not equally certain that *eternal* life is meant. Words and meaning are exactly the same as in this book in Phil. iv. 3.

ἐκρίθησαν. We see then that "the books" contained the record of "their works." Thus this passage justifies, in some measure, the modern popular myth of "the recording Angel."

κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν. St Matt. xvi. 27; Rom. ii. 6.

13. ὁ θάνατος καὶ ὁ ᾅδης. See vi. 8. *Sheol*, the Hebrew equivalent of *Hades*, seems not quite determined in meaning between the receptacle of the bodies of the dead and of their souls, but is sometimes translateable as "the grave." Here it seems implied that those who died in the sea are not in Hades, as those who were buried are: but all, whether buried or unburied, are raised and judged.

14. ὁ θάνατος καὶ ὁ ᾅδης ἐβλήθησαν. They are enemies of God, 1 Cor. xv. 26, and to be destroyed at Christ's triumph, *ib.* 54. But though no doubt presented to St John as individual demon figures (see vi. 8), we are not to understand that they are real persons, like the Devil and those represented by the Beast and the False Prophet: and hence we are not told that, like them, they continue to exist in torment in the lake of fire.

οὗτος...πυρός. We have learnt already, that temporal death does not hinder eternal life, nay, may secure a better and an earlier resurrection thereto. We now learn the opposite doctrine, that there is a resurrection not to life, but to a death far more terrible than that which ends this life. Cf. St John v. 29. It is quite true, however, that both in popular Jewish belief, and in the language of the N.T., when the Resurrection is spoken of, it is ordinarily conceived as one to life. This does not prevent the more terrible side of the doctrine from being also taught in the Gospel, but it does indicate which side is the healthier, as well as the pleasanter, for our thoughts to dwell on.

15. καὶ εἴ τις.... May either be a parallel to Gal. ii. 16 or a reference to ch. xiv. 10, 11 implying that ordinary sinners will be punished with the Devil, the False Prophet, the Beast and his worshippers. Cf. St Matt. xxv. 41 sqq.

CHAPTER XXI.

1. ἡ πρώτη γῆ. Aug. omits *πρώτη*.

καὶ ἡ...ἔτι. A has *καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν οὐκ ἴδον ἔτι.*

2. τὴν ἁγίαν. Aug. *magnam.*

3. καὶ ἤκ....λεγούσης. ℵ* *καὶ φωνὴ μεγάλη ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου λέγουσα.*

οὐρανοῦ. So Text. Rec. with B_2P Aug. ap. Primas.; Lach. Tisch. W. H. Weiss read *θρόνου* with ℵA. Iren.$^{gr.}$ omits both.

σκηνώσει. ℵ* has *ἐσκήνωσεν*, am. *habitavit*, Lips.^{6} *habitabat.*

λαοί. Tisch.^{7} reads λαὸς with B_2P and versions.

4. ἐξαλείψει. Text. Rec. and Lach. add *ὁ θεός* with A 1 vg. Aug. B_2 adds *ἀπ' αὐτῶν.*

ὁ θάνατος. Tisch. omits ὁ with ℵ.

οὔτε πένθος, οὔτε κραυγή, οὔτε πόνος. ℵ reads *οὔτε κραυγὴ οὔτε πένθος.*

ὅτι τά. Lach. omits *ὅτι* with AΓ am. fu. *quae prima* (did it drop out after *ἔτι?*). ℵ alters *ἔτι* into *ὅτι*; *τὰ πρῶτα ἀπῆλθον* would be just like *ἄμωμοί εἰσιν*, xiv. 5.

5. ἰδού. A has *καὶ ἰδού.*

λέγει. Text. Rec. adds *μοι* with ℵP 1.

ἀληθινοί. B_2 Syr. Arm. add *τοῦ θεοῦ.*

6. εἶπεν. ℵ has λέγει, Primas. *dicit.*

γέγοναν. With ℵ^{c}A, 38 *γεγόνασιν.* Iren.$^{int.}$ *facta sunt.* Text. Rec. has *γέγονε* with vg. *factum est;* ℵ*B_2P 1 Or. *γέγονα*; ℵ^{cc} cop. æth. omit.

ἐγώ εἰμι. With A vg. Primas.; ℵB_2P Cyp. omit *εἰμι*, Or. omits *ἐγώ εἰμι.*

δωρεάν. ℵ* has *δωρεάς.*

7. ὁ νικῶν. Tert. has *qui vicerint.*

κληρονομήσει. B_2 has *δώσω αὐτῷ.*

ταῦτα. Primas. has *ea.* Cyp. has *ea hereditate*, or *eorum hereditatem*, i.q. *αὐτά.*

αὐτῷ. A 1 have *αὐτῶν.* Tert. *illis.*

8. δειλοῖς. Primas. *dubiis.*

ἀπίστοις. B_2 adds *καὶ ἁμαρτώλοις.*

καὶ ἐβδ. 1 omits *καί.*

ψευδέσιν. A has *ψεύσταις.*

ὁ θάν. ὁ δεύτ. P has only *θάνατος.*

9. τῶν γεμόντων. ℵ^{c} has *τῶν γεμουσῶν*, B_2 *γεμούσας.* Text. Rec. *τὰς γεμούσας* with 1.

τὴν νύμφην, τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ ἀρνίου. Text. Rec. has *τὴν νύμ. τοῦ ἀρνίου τὴν γυναῖκα* with 1; B_2 has *τὴν γυ. τὴν ν. τοῦ ἀρνίου.*

10. τὴν ἁγίαν. 1 has *τὴν μεγάλην καὶ ἁγίαν.*

ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ. B_2 omits.

11. ἔχουσαν τὴν δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ. A omits, cop. omits *τοῦ θεοῦ*, ℵ Iren.$^{gr.}$ insert *ἀπὸ* before *τοῦ θεοῦ.*

12. ἔχουσα. ℵ reads *ἔχοντι.*

ἔχουσα. ℵ* reads *ἔχοντας*, Primas. *qui habet.*

ἀγγέλους. Primas. has *angulos.*

13. **βορρᾶ, νότου, δυσμῶν.** A am. have *βορρᾶ...δυσμῶν...νότου.*

14. **ἔχων.** ℵ* omits, ℵ^{c} has *ἔχον.*

15. **μέτρον, κάλαμον χρ.** Text. Rec. omits *μέτρον* with 1 cop. arm., Primas. *harundinem auream ad mensuram,* ℵ^{c} *μέτρον καλάμου.*

16. **ἡ πόλις.** ℵ has *αὐτῆς* here instead of in the next clause which 1 omits.

ὅσον. Text. Rec. and Lach. add *καὶ* with A Primas.

σταδίων. Lach. Treg. W. H. marg. and Weiss read *σταδίους* with AB_2.

χιλιάδων. B_2 has *καὶ χιλιάδων ιβ'.* Cf. Ezek. xlviii. 35, *κύκλωμα δέκα καὶ ὀκτὼ χιλιάδες.*

17. **ἐμέτρησεν** is omitted in B_2.

τεῖχος. ℵ has *χιλος* (i.e. *χεῖλος*) which oddly might mean *glacis,* and so make sense.

18. **καὶ ἡ.** So Lach. Tisch. W. H. and Weiss with ℵ^{c}AP; ℵ* has *ἦν* for *ἡ*; Text. Rec. reads *καὶ ἦν ἡ* with B_2, vg. and Primas.

19. **οἱ θεμ.** Text. Rec. has *καὶ οἱ* with ℵ* 1.

ὁ πρῶτος. ℵ has *ὁ εἷς.*

21. **δώδ. μαργ.** ℵ* omits *δώδ.*

ἀνὰ εἷς ἕκ. A has *ἵνα εἷς ἕκ.* P *ἀνὰ εἷς καὶ ἕκ.*

22. **ὁ γὰρ κύρ.** ℵ* has *ὅτι ὁ κύρ.* Iren.$^{gr.}$ *ὅτι κύριος.*

ναός. A has *ὁ ναός.*

24. **καὶ περιπ....αὐτῆς.** 1 reads *καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τῶν σωζομένων* (from And. comm.) *τῷ φωτὶ αὐτῆς περιπατήσουσι τὰ ἔθνη διὰ τοῦ φωτὸς αὐτῆς.* Text. Rec. inserts *ἐν* and omits the last six words.

φέρουσιν τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν. B_2...*φέρουσιν αὐτῷ δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν.*

26. 1 omits.

27. **εἰσέλθῃ.** ℵ has *εἰσελθωσιν.*

ὁ ποιῶν. ℵ^{c}A omit *ὁ.* Iren.$^{gr.}$ has *πᾶς ποιῶν.* Text. Rec. *ποιοῦν* with B_2P 1.

τοῦ ἀρνίου. ℵ has *τοῦ οὐρανοῦ,* Iren.$^{gr.}$ omits.

Ch. XXI. 1. New Heaven and Earth.

1. **εἶδον.** This might naturally be understood as in viii. 2, xv. 1 as an announcement of the contents of the vision whose stages were to be related hereafter. At *v.* 5 the Seer *hears* the promise of a new heaven and earth, the fulfilment of which is announced in *v.* 6. It is apparently in *v.* 10 that he actually begins to *see* what we are told in *vv.* 1, 2 that he saw. In the last two chapters of this wonderful Book all the mechanical difficulties of interpretation are at their height.

οὐρανὸν καινὸν καὶ γῆν καινήν. Is. lxv. 17, lxvi. 22; referred to, as here, in 2 Pet. iii. 13. It is idle to ask, what amount of change in the physical constitution of the universe is implied: the destruction of the earth, as a seat of life, and its renewal, would imply a complete change of the visible heavens. But a world "wherein dwelleth righteousness" would be a new world, even without any physical change at all.

ἡ θάλασσα οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτι. In the Coptic Zephaniah p. 129 flames break out and dry up the sea before the earth and the works therein are burned up. If the figure is to be taken literally (we hear of a river in the next chapter and a perennial stream implies an abundant reservoir of water somewhere), we might be tempted to think the absence of sea so to speak a defect in the landscape. To the ancients it seemed a pledge of security and unfettered intercourse; cf. *Oceano dissociabili*, Hor. *Od.* I. iii. 22. The same dislike to navigation is perhaps expressed Is. xxxiii. 21, where, it is said, Zion protected by God's majesty is to be like a city defended by broad rivers and canals, so perhaps nothing is meant but the absence of *hostile* fleets; there may even be a reference to Sennacherib's naval expedition against the Chaldees in 694 B.C. At any rate to the exile of Patmos the sea was the Great Divider.

2. The New Jerusalem.

This like *v.* 1 might still be part of a prefatory announcement of what is narrated in detail *v.* 9 sqq.

2. **Ἱερουσαλὴμ καινήν.** For the old Jerusalem, though we saw (xx. 9, and note) that it is to be again "a holy city" in the last days as of old, will have passed away with "the first earth."

καταβαίνουσαν...θεοῦ. This is the new Jerusalem of which the earthly city is an imperfect copy; see on iv. 6, vi. 9 for the heavenly Temple. While this world lasts, this true Jerusalem is above (Gal. iv. 26); and we only know its nature from the earthly copy of it, before Christ came, and the spiritual approach to it (Heb. xii. 22) since. But in the days here described, it will be realised on earth in all its perfection.

ἡτοιμασμένην. The building and arrangements of the city serve the same purpose as the dress and ornaments of a bride. Cf. Is. lxi. 10.

ὡς νύμφην. See xix. 7 and notes thereon. The metaphors of a woman and a city are combined as in xvii., and in iv. Esdras x. 26, 27, in xvii. the city is a harlot, in Esdras a widow.

κεκοσμημένην. Is. lxi. 10.

3—8. A voice from Heaven of Blessing and Judgement.

3. **ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ θεοῦ**, i.e. the Shechinah, the Divine Presence; see on vii. 15. So in the next words.

σκηνώσει μετ' αὐτῶν. Cf. St John i. 14 *ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν.*

λαοί. The word is a plural: "peoples," though used in modern English, at least as a Gallicism, is scarcely (see however x. 11, xvii. 15) admitted in the English of the A.V. It would not do to translate "His nations," for in Hellenistic language, representing O.T. usage, "the nations" means Gentiles, and "the people" Israel. Here therefore the use of this word in the pl. has a special significance: *all* nations shall be God's people, in the sense that one nation only has been hitherto.

ἔσται μετ' αὐτῶν. If we add *αὐτῶν θεὸς* with A and vg. it is simple to translate "and be their God" as in A.V. In spite of the order it is also possible to render "God Himself, their own God, shall be with them"—something like Ps. lxvii. 6. There may be a reminiscence of the name *Immanuel:* there certainly is of Jer. xxiv. 7 &c.; Ezek. xi. 20 &c.; Zech. viii. 8, whether on St John's part or only on that of his copyists.

4. θάνατος οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι. There may be a reference to the destruction of Death in the Lake of Fire xx. 14, though hardly to the quasi-personification.

οὔτε πένθος. See Is. xxxv. 10, li. 11, lxv. 19.

5. εἶπεν ὁ καθήμενος. The first time that He speaks. The reference is rather to the eternal throne of iv. 2 than to the judgement-throne of xx. 11, so far as the two can be distinguished.

ἰδού, καινὰ ποιῶ πάντα. Some O.T. parallels are alleged, e.g. Is. xliii. 19; Jer. xxxi. 22; but really the only close parallel is 2 Cor. v. 17; and the meaning of this passage is, of course, even fuller than of that.

καὶ λέγει. It is doubtful whether the speaker is still "He that sat on the throne"; for a similar command to "write" has been given already (xiv. 13, xix. 9; cf. x. 4), either by an impersonal "voice from heaven" or by the revealing angel. The question is best left open. The repetition of the words "He said unto me" in the next verse is a reason against ascribing all three speeches to "Him that sat on the throne"; the fresh mention of a revealing angel in *v.* 9 is perhaps a stronger one against supposing an angel to be speaking here; and the form of the words themselves is against their referring to an impersonal voice.

ὅτι. Is probably the reason for writing, possibly it only serves like quotation marks to introduce the following words which are to be written.

πιστοὶ καὶ ἀληθινοί, iii. 14, xix. 11 and still more exactly xxii. 6.

6. γέγοναν. But for the plural an exact repetition of xvi. 17. If we ask, what is the subject to this verb, "*They* have come into being," perhaps the best answer is "all things." The new universe of which the creating Word has just gone forth, has now been made, "and God sees that it is good."

τὸ ἄλφα καὶ τὸ ὦ. As in i. 8 (*not* 11) xxii. 13. Here as in the former passage it is God the Father that speaks.

τῆς...ζωῆς. See vii. 17 and note, xxii. 1: also our Lord's words in St John's Gospel, iv. 14, vii. 38. The last quoted passage is combined with this in the Epistle describing the Martyrs of Gaul (Eus. *H. E.* v. i. 18). The writer (as pointed out in Camb. Texts and Studies 1, 2, p. 98) followed a punctuation which makes Christ (not the believer) the fount of living waters.

δωρεάν. Cf. Is. lv. 1, *ἄνευ ἀργυρίου καὶ τιμῆς.*

7. ὁ νικῶν. Carries back our thoughts to the promises at the beginning of the book, ii. 7, &c. There is perhaps some significance in the Father thus taking up and repeating the language of the Son.

ταῦτα. The new heavens and earth and the things in them, which, like them, have just "come into being."

καὶ ἔσομαι...υἱός. The form of the promise resembles 2 Sam. vii. 14, at least as closely as Jer. xxiv. 7, &c.: and the sense combines that of both. The finally victorious share in the privileges, not only of God's people, but of the Only-begotten: see iii. 21.

8. τοῖς δὲ δειλοῖς. "The cowards" would express the sense more accurately, at least in modern English, than "the fearful" of A.V. Those condemned are those who are afraid to do their duty, not those who do it, though timidly and in spite of the fears of nature: still less those who do it "with fear and trembling" in St Paul's sense.

ἀπίστοις. It is, as usual, questionable whether "unbelieving" (A.V.) or "unfaithful" expresses the sense most accurately. He who believes God's Word is "faithful" to God: the character here condemned is the exact opposite.

ἐβδελυγμένοις may mean "polluted with idols" or "abominations," see note on *v.* 27; perhaps more probably alludes to crimes yet fouler than those named.

πόρνοις. The versions give this word a sense not attested in ordinary Greek, where when masculine it equals *κύνες* xxii. 15. Cf. *ἄλλαγμα κυνὸς* Deut. xxiii. 18.

φαρμακοῖς. In LXX. *φαρμακός* always means a dealer in witchcraft *φάρμακον* witchcraft (poison is always *θυμὸς* in LXX. except in Ps. cxi. 3 where, as in the New Testament parallels Rom. iii. 13, St James iii. 8, it is *ἰὸς*), consequently A.V. is right in translating "sorcerers" here and "sorceries" ix. 21 and "witchcraft" Gal. v. 20; *venefici* and *veneficia* in the Vg. are no argument to the contrary for the same persons dealt in both witchcraft and poison and the names apply to both. *φαρμακός* in ordinary Greek, with the possible exception of a passage in Hipponax, means vile persons such as were in early times pampered for a season at public expense and then sacrificed for the public good.

ψευδέσιν. It is uncertain whether this word was chosen deliberately as more general than *ψεύσταις.*

XXI. 9—XXII. 5. The Vision of the New Jerusalem.

9—17. The measure of the City.

9. **καὶ ἦλθεν...φιάλας.** Repeated *verbatim* from xvii. 1. The identical forms of introduction emphasize the contrast between Babylon and Jerusalem, the harlot and the bride.

τῶν γεμόντων. This well-attested and inexplicable reading must have arisen from an involuntary error of the writer or a very early copyist.

10. **ἐν πνεύματι.** xvii. 3, i. 10. Cf. Ezek. iii. 14.

ἐπὶ ὄρος μέγα καὶ ὑψηλόν. Ezek. xl. 2. The Seer is taken either to the Holy Mountain of the Lord or to a mountain from which he can see the whole of it. The preposition probably implies that he is set down *on* the mountain. In Ezek. l.c. the city apparently occupies the south side of the mountain, whence the seer views it.

καταβαίνουσαν...θεοῦ. Repeated *verbatim* from *v.* 2. If we suppose the Vision proper to begin at *v.* 1 the descent described is no doubt the same as there, but St John's vision of the descent is not exactly the same. He has seen, as it were in the distance, the appearance of the city: but his attention was absorbed in listening to the sayings of *vv.* 3—8. Now, he is summoned to attend to the vision, and finds it at the same stage where he noticed it in passing before.

11. **ἔχουσαν τὴν δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ.** i.e. the visible cloud of glory (cf. Heb. ix. 5), the Shechinah of the Divine Presence, which the Second Temple in the earthly Jerusalem lacked. See *v.* 23.

ὁ φωστήρ. Elsewhere the word means "luminary"; perhaps here it stands for the light by which the city shines on the world rather than for the light which shines on the city.

ἰάσπιδι κρυσταλλίζοντι. See on iv. 3: it was rare for a "jasper" to combine brilliant colour and perfect translucency.

12. **ἔχουσα.** A nominative participle in this context might in itself be a Hebraism rather than an anacoluthon: and this may be the construction here, though Hebrew has no direct equivalent to **ἔχω**.

ὑψηλόν. Its exact height is stated in *v.* 17.

ἔχουσα...Ἰσραήλ. So Ezek. xlviii. 31—34. Probably the order of the names on the gates would be the same as there; but the order can hardly be pressed as important, since it is quite different from that of the four-square encampment in the wilderness, Num. ii. The 12 gates *of heaven* in Enoch xxxiii.—xxxv. do not really present a very close parallel to these.

ἀγγέλους δώδεκα. As porters and sentinels to keep out intruders, not invaders, who never molest this City of Peace; the guards, like the walls and gates are for order rather than for defence.

13. **ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς...ἀπὸ δυσμῶν.** The order of enumeration in Numbers is E.S.W.N., in Ezekiel N.E.S.W., in Enoch N.W.S.E., as

in each of them the surveyor goes round methodically in order: here the Seer stands as it were on a new Mount of Olives with the east front of the city facing him, its northern and southern fronts to his right and left, while the western battlements bound the view.

14. There is a little difficulty in harmonising this verse with *vv.* 19, 20. Taking this verse by itself we should suppose the twelve foundations were twelve monoliths, far surpassing those used for the earthly temple (Mark xiii. 1 and parallels), each reaching from one gate to another, each bearing the name of a master-builder of Zion (cf. Nehemiah iii. *passim*). Taking *vv.* 19, 20 by themselves we should naturally suppose that the twelve foundations were the twelve courses of stone nearest the ground and the eye, and therefore of the most precious materials; and this is supported by Is. liv. 11, where the courses of the walls of Zion are to be picked out with antimony. It is possible to combine the two (at the expense of the splendour of the picture in *vv.* 19, 20) by supposing that each monolith was a jewel.

ἔχων, though well attested is inexplicable if intentional; **ἔχον** would have the same construction as **ἔχουσα** in *v.* 12.

δώδεκα ὀνόματα. Expressing the same doctrine as St Paul in Eph. ii. 20, and (probably) our Lord in St Matt. xvi. 18. It is absurd to suppose that there is any pointed insistance on the Apostles being *only* twelve, St Paul being excluded: to introduce thirteen or fourteen would have spoilt the symmetry characteristic of the whole vision. We might just as well say, that there ought to be thirteen gates for the thirteen tribes; counting Ephraim, Manasseh and Levi all as coordinate with the rest. Really, it is idle to ask whether the twelfth name was that of St Paul or St Matthias. St John does not notice his own name being written there, though of course it was (cf. St Luke x. 20); the Apostles are here mentioned in their collective and official, not in their individual character. (See on v. 5.)

τοῦ ἀρνίου. His identity is taken for granted with the Jesus of the earthly ministry, as in xiv. 1 with the Son of God.

15. μέτρον, κάλαμον χρυσοῦν. So xi. 1. This is more closely parallel to Ezek. xi. 3, 5. See also Zech. ii. 1.

τοὺς πυλῶνας. As it happens we are not actually told of these measurements.

16. ἐμέτρησεν τὴν πόλιν. It is doubtful whether this is the measurement of the *side* of the square, or of the whole circumference. The twelve-fold measure is in favour of the latter view: thus from each gate to the next would be 1000 furlongs; the outmost gate on each side being 500 from the angle.

τῷ καλάμῳ. He has not, as in the parallel passages of Ezekiel and Zechariah, a *line* for the long measurements (like our "chains" and "poles").

ἐπὶ...χιλιάδων. The construction is peculiar, but the sense clear. The measure would be about 1378 English miles, making the City 344 miles squares, according to the lower computation.

τὸ μῆκος καὶ...ἴσα ἐστίν. It is always a question how far the symbols of this Book are to be turned into visible pictures. Some, like the two-edged sword, cf. i. 16, xix. 15, would if so according to our notions be grotesque, so would a city forming a *cube* of over 300 miles each way. Oriental artists never shrink from representing what oriental writers describe. The cube was regarded as a perfect figure and the Holy of Holies conformed to it. Passages are quoted from the Rabbis and from St Justin, which seem to prove that this notion of Jerusalem being elevated to an enormous height did commend itself to Jewish habits of thought. On the other hand we are told that the wall of the city (if it is the *height* which is given) was of great but not of enormous or unimaginable dimensions. Possibly as the earthly city seems from some points to stand on a square of rock surrounded by ravines, it is meant that the heavenly city will realize the ideal to which the earthly tends and stand on the level summit of a cubical mountain. Possibly also it is built on the slopes of a pyramidal mountain: if so the height is measured by the reed along the side, the conceptions of vertical height would be too abstruse.

17. ἐμέτρησεν τὸ τεῖχος. We should naturally understand, the height of it. The walls of the historical Babylon are differently stated as having been 200, 300, or nearly 340 feet high. But we are told that they were about 80 feet in breadth (Hdt. i. clxxviii. 5: cf. Jer. li. 58): so if we do admit that the City here is conceived as 340 miles high, there is a sort of proportion in making its walls not less than 72 yards thick.

μέτρον ἀνθρώπου, ὅ ἐστιν ἀγγέλου. In Ezekiel, Daniel and Zechariah angels often appear and are named as men. If this Book followed the same usage we might suppose that angelic cubits are meant, thus enhancing the size. In Ezekiel it is explained that the reed is 6 royal cubits, each being a handbreadth beyond the ordinary cubit. Apart from such reminiscences the sense would be that angels use a cubit of the same length as men, *viz.* the average length of the forearm, from the elbow to the finger-tip. It might be implied that angels are not of superhuman stature.

18—21. The Building, Foundations and Street.

18. ἡ ἐνδώμησις. A half technical word, as it were 'the superstructure' as distinct from the foundations.

ἴασπις. See on iv. 3.

ἡ πόλις, i.e., the houses included within the wall.

ὑάλῳ καθαρῷ. See on *κρυσταλλίζοντι* v. 11; the refulgence of untarnished metal has a certain resemblance to glass: it seems as if we can see into it as we can see through glass.

19. θεμέλιοι...κεκοσμημένοι. From the next sentence we are to understand that they are adorned by being *constructed* of these stones, not that stones are fastened on *merely* for ornament.

λίθῳ τιμίῳ. See Is. liv. 11, 12 where however there is less detail than here, and what there is is not quite the same: a warning against expecting too minute a symbolism in the details. It is true that contemporary superstition ascribed mystical meanings and magical virtues to the various stones, and it is *possible* that the revelation made to St John was given in terms of these beliefs, which he and his readers may have known of or even have held. But though not *a priori* incredible, this is hardly likely: these superstitions had, it seems, much less hold on the popular mind in St John's day than some centuries later: and at all times they were too vague and too variable to give us a key to the interpretation. There may be a definite meaning in each of the stones named, but the general meaning of the whole is all that we can be sure of. As St Hildebert says,

> Quis chalcedon, quis jacinthus,
> Norunt *illi qui sunt intus.*

ὁ πρῶτος. See on *v.* 14. If the two descriptions are to be combined the enumeration probably begins at one of the angles, and goes round the wall in order. It is useless to guess which Apostle's name was on which stone, but it may be presumed that St Peter's would be on the first. But in no two of the canonical lists of the Apostles are their names given in the same order; and, so far as there is any order among them, they are arranged in three groups of four, not, as is here required, in four groups of three.

ἴασπις. Like the superstructure on the wall *v.* 18. But it can hardly be meant, that the Church is built more solidly on to St Peter than to any other of the twelve. If the twelve foundations are twelve courses it would be quite natural that the stone used for the superstructure should also be used for the lowest course.

σάπφειρος. Lapis-lazuli, the colour of which gives the modern name to the blue jacinth, see on ix. 17.

χαλκηδών. A green stone like an emerald from the copper mines of Chalcedon. It is uncertain whether our Chalcedony gets the name from Pliny's Chalcedonius Jaspis, or from his Carchedonius (a kind of carbuncle), which was often written by mistake with Cal-; for our chalcedony sometimes is like an inferior fire opal, and in Marbod we read

> Pallensque Chalcedonius
> Ignis habet effigiem.

20. χρυσόλιθος...τοπάζιον. According to the best authorities, the ancient application of these names was the reverse of the modern. Chrysolite ought, according to the etymology, to be a "golden stone," while the modern chrysolite is green. As early as Epiphanius the oriental chrysolite or chrysoberyl had taken the name of chrysolite which passed from it to the softer peridot, the ancient topaz, and as the chrysoberyl was also a "topaz" this became a possible name for all yellow stones.

χρυσόπρασος. A variety of beryl, of a more yellowish green; probably one of the stones now called chrysolite, our chrysoprasus being then unknown.

ὑάκινθος. Our sapphire, see on ix. 17.

ἀμέθυστος. This, the emerald, sardius, sardonyx and beryl are undoubtedly the stones now so called.

21. **μαργαρῖται.** Contrast Is. liv. 12 where they are carbuncles (LXX. κρυστάλλου).

ἡ πλατεῖα. "Street" (A.V.) or "square": see on xi. 8. The City has one great space in the midst of it, like an Agora or Forum: but the word Agora would have associations, commercial or political, that would be incongruous with the repose of this city. And the associations of 'street' are no less misleading, the typical eastern city had one gate *par excellence*, and one street which led from the void space at the entering in of the gate to the court of the king's palace; hence it is unnecessary to conjecture that if the city was built on a pyramidal mountain a single street might go round to its twelve gates, and then ascend the mountain like the ramp of the Assyrian temples. It is probably the pavement of the street which, like the walls of the houses, is of transparent gold.

22—27. The Temple, the Light, the Riches, and the Inhabitants of the City.

22. **καὶ ναὸν οὐκ εἶδον.** The new Jerusalem is on earth, though on the *new* earth: this does not therefore prove that the heavenly temple of xi. 19 &c. has ceased to exist. But He Who dwells from all eternity in that Temple will dwell to all eternity in the new Jerusalem; and will dwell there so manifestly, that there will be no need of an earthly figure of that Temple to symbolise His presence, or aid men to realise it.

ὁ...παντοκράτωρ. See on i. 8, iv. 8.

καὶ τὸ ἀρνίον. The position of these words does not make the coupling of the Lamb with the Eternal less significant, see on xx. 6.

23. **οὐ χρείαν ἔχει....** Is. ix. 19. It is impossible to say whether it is here meant that the sun and moon do not shine, or only that the city is not dependent on them.

ὁ λύχνος. The word is that commonly rendered "candle" or "lamp." This makes it unlikely that the analogy is meant to be suggested, that the Lord God is the Sun of the city, and the Lamb the Moon.

24. **τὰ ἔθνη.** Notice that the new Jerusalem is not the only inhabited part of the new earth, but only its centre and capital, as the earthly Jerusalem was in chap. xx. It follows from xx. 15, that *all* the dwellers in the new earth are those who were written in the Lamb's Book of Life; but it does not appear who among them have the further privilege of citizenship in the Holy City. That there *is* such a further privilege, above the lot of all the Elect, has been already suggested by vii. 4, 9, xiv. 1—5.

St Irenæus, who understood like St Justin that the new Jerusalem would be the seat of the millennial reign, quotes the presbyters who had seen John for the remarkable theory that the holy city will be the lowest stage of eternal glory: those who bear fruit thirtyfold will tarry there, those who bear sixtyfold will be in Paradise, those who bear a hundredfold in heaven.

οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς. Apparently, civic government is still needed, or at any rate still exists, among "the nations" of the regenerate earth. But probably this is only a part of the imagery: Jerusalem is conceived (as in Is. xlv. 14, xlix. 23, lx. 10, 11) as an imperial city receiving the tribute of the world, simply because that was the form of world-wide sovereignty recognised and understood in the prophets' times.

25. καὶ οἱ πυλῶνες. Is. lx. 11. But the latter prophet speaks of a further glory than the earlier: Isaiah recognises the succession of day and night, while St John sees that in that perpetual day the gates *cannot* need to be closed. In an earthly city they are not closed by day except in time of war; but even in perfect peace they are closed every night (cf. Neh. xiii. 19); here the daylight is as perpetual as the peace.

27. πᾶν κοινὸν καὶ ὁ ποιῶν. Is. lii. 1. No unclean thing can enter without an unclean person. The point of view seems to change abruptly between *v.* 26 and *v.* 27. We should naturally suppose that as the city is always receiving the fulness of the Gentiles so it is always fenced against the evil that is in the World, cf. xxii. 15, but the mention of the Book of Life may be meant for a reminder that after the Judgement there is no evil to enter.

βδέλυγμα καὶ ψεῦδος. Both these words are used of idols by LXX., the latter to translate the Hebrew word which A.V. renders "vanity."

ἐν τῷ...τοῦ ἀρνίου. So xiii. 8.

CHAPTER XXII.

1. ποταμόν. Text. Rec. has *καθαρὸν ποταμὸν* with 1.

2. ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἐκεῖθεν. ℵ* has *ἔνθεν καί.* ℵ^{c} adds *ἔνθεν.*

ποιοῦν. So Text. Rec. Lach. and Treg. with ℵB$_2$; Tisch. reads *ποιῶν* with A.

ἕκαστον. B$_2$ has *ἑκάστῳ.*

ἀποδιδούς. With ℵB$_2$; Text. Rec. and Lach. read *ἀποδιδοῦν* with A.

4. ὅν. αὐτοῦ. ℵ adds *καί.*

5. φωτὸς λύχνου καὶ φωτὸς ἡλίου. B$_2$ reads *λύχνου καὶ φωτὸς,* A *φωτὸς λύχνου καὶ φῶς ἡλίου.*

6. τῶν πνευμάτων τῶν. Text. Rec. reads *τῶν ἁγίων* with 1 arm. And^{a} hav.

7. καὶ ἰδού. 1 and Primas. omit *καί.*

ἔρχομαι. ℵ^{c} has *ἔρχονται,* 12 *ἔρχεται.*

8. ἔμπροσθεν τῶν. A has *πρό.*

9. προφητῶν, καί. 1 Primas. omit *καί.*

10. τοὺς λόγους. ℵ adds *τούτους* here and *τούτων* in *v.* 19.

11. ὁ ἀδικῶν ἀδικησάτω ἔτι. Cyp. and Primas. *hii qui perseverant nocere noceant*, i.q. *οἱ ἀδ. ἔτι ἀδ.* Ep. Lugd. *ὁ ἄνομος ἀνομησάτω ἔτι καὶ ὁ δίκαιος δικαιωθήτω* (so Cyp. Primas. *justiora faciat*, Aug. *justus fiat*) *ἔτι*, apparently omitting *ὁ ῥυπαρὸς ῥυπανθήτω ἔτι* with A 1...: Orig. has *ὁ καθαρὸς καθαρισθήτω ἔτι καὶ ὁ ἅγιος ἁγ. ἔτι*, so aeth. omitting *ὁ δίκαιος δικαιοσύνην ποιησάτω ἔτι.*

12. ἰδού. Text. Rec. with 1 *καὶ ἰδού.*

13. ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος. A omits the articles.

14. οἱ πλύνοντες τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν. Text. Rec. reads *οἱ ποιοῦντες τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ* with B_2 Tert. Cyp. Tyc.

16. ἐπὶ ταῖς. 1 Primas. (*vobis septem*) omit *ἐπί.* Lach. reads *ἐν* with A.

γένος. Text. Rec. adds *τοῦ* with 1, which contains nothing after *δᾶδ* = *δανείδ* to the end of the book.

17. εἰπάτω, Ἔρχου· καί. Primas. omits *ἔρχου καί.*

20. ἀμήν. ℵ cop. omit.

21. Primas. omits. For **πάντων** ℵ substitutes, B_2 adds, *τῶν ἁγίων.*

Ch. XXII. 1—5. The Water and the Tree of Life, the Service and the Kingdom of God's Servants.

1. ποταμὸν...ζωῆς. See vii. 17, xxi. 6.

ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου. In Ezekiel's vision (chap. xlvii.) the River proceeds out of the Temple, here out of the Temple's antitype. We are also meant to think of the River that watered the ancient Paradise, Gen. ii. 10, and of such parallels to Ezekiel's vision as Pss. xlvi. 4, lxv. 9; Zech. xiv. 8. The original type, of which these Prophecies are developments, is the fact that there was a natural spring, which fills the pool of Siloam, in the precincts of the Temple at Jerusalem. We are not told here, as in the old Paradise, that the River is fourfold: but if the City stands on a pyramidal mountain (see on xxi. 16) it is likely enough that there is a stream running down each of its four faces, the throne which is the source being at the summit.

2. ἐν μέσῳ...ἐκεῖθεν. The picture is, almost certainly, that the river runs along the broad high-street or piazza (see on xi. 8, xxi. 21, and note that, if the mountain be pyramidal, the "street" may be cruciform), and rows or plantations, all of the one tree, stand along the banks on either side. But the exact construction and punctuation is not quite certain: that assumed in the A.V. is not very likely. Either we may punctuate as the Revised Version, connecting "in the midst of the street thereof" with the preceding sentence, or else we should probably translate, "Midway between the street of it and the river, on this side and on that": i.e. there is a "street" or boulevard on each side of the river, and parted from the river by a sort of quay, in

the midst of which is a row of the trees. It can hardly be meant that there is a *single* plant of the tree, as in the old Paradise (Gen. ii. 9), for how could one tree grow "on this side and on that of the river"? and the words would hardly bear the sense "in the midst of the street thereof and of the river, *with them running* on this side and on that *of it*." It would be awkward to represent the tree as growing in the midst of the river: and though there is a difference between this Paradise and the old in the multiplication of the tree, it is all, as it should be, in favour of the new.

ξύλον ζωῆς. Gen. ii. 9, cp. chap. ii. 7; where the likeness, not the difference, between the arrangement of this Paradise and the old is brought out.

κατὰ μῆνα...αὐτοῦ. Yet there can hardly be months and years when there is no moon nor sun. It is not, however, certain that this is the case here: see on xxi. 23. But the real meaning is, that the fruit is always in season, and never cloys.

καὶ τὰ φύλλα...εἰς θεραπείαν. Ezek. xlvii. 12.

τῶν ἐθνῶν. Those outside the city: see on xxi. 24. Perhaps the fruit is only for the citizens, perhaps the nations have special need of healing because the Sun of Righteousness with healing in His Wings never shone on them on earth. This is perhaps the only passage in Scripture which suggests that, *even after the Day of Judgement*, there may be a process of purification for those whom that Day finds in a state of salvation, but imperfectly sanctified. But though it cannot be denied that this passage suggests this, it would be very rash to say that it proves it. It is quite possible that it is only at their first admission to the new earth that "the nations" have any need of "healing." Surely no one can doubt, that this need will be felt by almost all, perhaps by all, who are saved at the last. Even if they were what we rightly account to be saints on earth they need a "healing" of their surviving sins before they are fit for heaven. They may receive this at the moment of death, as most Protestants suppose, or between death and judgement, as (in different forms) was supposed by some of the fathers and by the modern Roman Church. But apparently the oldest belief was that the work would be done at the moment of Judgement; see Comm. on 1 Cor. iii. 13—15: and this passage is quite in harmony with that view.

3. κατάθεμα. A peculiar equivalent (found also in the *Teaching of the Apostles* c. 16 *σωθήσονται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος*) of the common Hebrew word rendered *ἀνάθεμα* in Zech. xiv. 11 (of which this verse is a reminiscence). There A.V. translates "utter destruction," R.V. Text "curse," Margin "ban."

ὁ θρόνος. Implied already in xxi. 23 and *v.* 1. Interpreters compare the last words (*κύριος ἐκεῖ ἔσται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς*) of Ezekiel's cognate prophecy.

οἱ δοῦλοι αὐτοῦ. The singular pronoun implies the Unity of the Persons named.

λατρεύσουσιν. See vii. 15 and note there.

4. ὄψονται τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ. This is the *locus classicus* for what constitutes the blessedness of heaven, the "Beatific Vision." It is intimated in Job xix. 26 and in Is. lii. 8, where there may be an allusion to the privilege of Moses, Ex. xxxiii. 11; Num. xii. 8; Deut. xxxiv. 10. In the last verse of Ps. xvii. it may be questioned whether the final and immediate vision, or an earthly foretaste, is intended; but Job xlii. 5, 6; Is. vi. 5 shew that it is only to "the spirits of just men made perfect" that the vision is endurable. In the N.T. we have the promise in St Matt. v. 8; 1 Cor. xiii. 12; St John 1 Ep. iii. 2.

τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. So in xiv. 1, where, according to the true text, we see that "*His*" still means the Name of God, both the Father and the Son.

5. ἔτι. *ἐκεῖ* in Text. Rec. is borrowed from xxi. 25.

6—11. THE CONFIRMATION OF THE PROMISE, THE ERROR OF THE SEER.

6. καὶ εἶπέν μοι. Who speaks? the angel of xxi. 9, or "He that sitteth upon the throne," as in xxi. 5—8, or Christ as in *v.* 16? Probably, an angel speaks in the name of Christ: and this leads St John to fancy, as once before, that the angel is himself a divine person.

οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι. The phrase (except that the copula is not expressed) is *verbatim* the same as in xxi. 5.

τῶν πνευμάτων τῶν προφητῶν. Cf. 1 Cor. xiv. 32.

δεῖξαι...αὐτοῦ. i. 1.

7. ἔρχομαι ταχύ. Spoken no doubt *in the name* of Christ, though hardly by Him: cf. iii. 11 and *vv.* 12, 20.

μακάριος ὁ τηρῶν. i. 3.

8. κἀγὼ Ἰωάννης ὁ ἀκούων καὶ βλέπων ταῦτα. Most modern commentators understand *εἰμὶ* after *κἀγὼ* or after *Ἰωάννης*: "I am that John who...," or "I John am he who...." It would be also possible to compare Dan. x. 17, Theodotion, *καὶ ἐγὼ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν οὐ στήσεται ἐν ἐμοὶ ἰσχύς*, where A.V. translates it, "As for me," &c.; though *καὶ* before *ὅτε* is against this. The context is against the sense which is grammatically easiest, "Blessed is he that keepeth...and [blessed am] I John...," as though the first clause were not the continuation of the angel's speech, but the beginning of St John's reflection. This was the way in which St Dionysius of Alexandria in the third century understood the passage.

ἔπεσα προσκυνῆσαι. As at xix. 10. Some suppose that St John is here repeating his statement of what he did then, but it is far more natural to understand that he did the same again. The words "I come quickly" would even more naturally lead him to think that this angel was "He that is to come," than the words of that angel (who may or

may not have been the same as this) led him to think that he was the God Whose "true sayings" he communicated.

9. τῶν ἀδελφῶν σου τῶν προφητῶν. It has been recognised in *vv.* 6, 7, that St John is a prophet, and shares in the special blessedness given to prophets. But at the same time "they which keep the words of this book," though not prophets, share that blessedness with them. St Matth. x. 41 implies the same, though the form of statement is somewhat different.

10. λέγει. Still, probably, the same angel. He speaks still more unmistakeably in Christ's person, now that St John understands beyond mistake that he is not Christ Himself.

μὴ σφραγίσῃς. Pointedly contrasted with Dan. xii. 4, 9. In Daniel's time, both the coming of Antichrist and the deliverance from him were far off: Daniel was bidden to write what he saw and heard, but not to make it public, for it would be unintelligible till long after his own generation:—at least till the typical persecution of Antiochus, and the typical day of vengeance and deliverance of the Maccabees. But to St John's readers, all was to be as plain as an unfulfilled prophecy ever can be: except one detail (x. 4) the whole vision is to be laid before the Church. It *may* be meant further, that the typical persecution of Nero was already within the Church's experience, and that its typical revival under Domitian was to fall within the present generation.

ὁ...ἐστιν. So i. 3. Besides the fact that partial and typical fulfilments were nearer to St John's age than to Daniel's, it is intimated that the same age, the same dispensation under which St John and his readers lived was to last till the time of the end; while the Jewish age in which Daniel lived passed away long before the end. For in mere chronology the difference is slight: from St John's day to the end is, as we know, more than 1800 years, and from Daniel's more than 2400: in comparison with the longer period, the shorter can hardly be spoken of as short.

11. ὁ ἀδικῶν. The sense is generally understood to be, "The time is so short, that it is too late to change: for good or evil, you must go on as you are"; a solemn and terrible irony, like "Sleep on now, and take your rest," to the Disciples who had missed their opportunity. As that was followed by "Rise, let us be going," so there is nothing inconsistent with this in the Church continuing to preach repentance to the unjust and the filthy. But in the Epistle of the Churches of Gaul (Eus. *H. E.* v. i. 53) the passage is quoted (not quite accurately, it is true) as though the sense were, "Let the unrighteous do *more* unrighteousness" &c.; a possible rendering of the Greek. Then the sense will be, that the world "must be worse before it is better"—that sin must come to its height, in order that the righteous may be made perfect. For "unjust" it would be better to render "unrighteous," or else "just" for "righteous" below, as the two words are the exact opposites of each other.

12—16. The Witness of the Lord.

12. **ἰδοὺ ἔρχομαι ταχύ.** Of course He Who "comes" is the Lord Jesus: it does not follow that He is personally present to the Seer, possibly the angel still speaks in His name.

ὁ μισθός μου μετ' ἐμοῦ. Is. v. 10, lxii. 11.

ἀποδοῦναι. To render to every man. The source of the expression is in Job xxxiv. 11; Ps. lxii. 12. In the N. T. this retribution is ascribed to God in Rom. ii. 6, to the Son in His own words in St Matt. xvi. 27.

13. **ἐγὼ τὸ ἄλφα καὶ τὸ ὦ.** So i. 8 (*not* 11); there the Father speaks, here the Son.

14. **οἱ πλύνοντες τὰς στολάς.** See crit. note. Closely as the two readings resemble each other it is a question whether that of Text. Rec. began as a clerical error or as a gloss; as a gloss it may well be correct, cf. xix. 8, for the tense is different in vii. 14, though the tenses of participles are not always to be pressed in this book (see on *ὁ πλανῶν* xx. 10). There are plenty of Scriptural parallels for the sentences read either way and for either sense of the true text.

ἵνα ἔσται ἡ ἐξουσία. This is closely connected with *μακάριος*: this shall be their blessedness to have such right. The right of approaching the Tree of Life is a definite privilege granted to a certain class, viz., those who "wash their robes." The reason that *ἔσται* is in the indicative, *εἰσέλθωσιν* in the subjunctive, may be that *ἔσται* depends on *μακάριοι*, *εἰσέλθωσιν* on *πλύνοντες*.

15. **ἔξω.** Are we to suppose that Gehenna is always close to the Walls of Jerusalem?

οἱ κύνες καὶ οἱ φαρμακοί. See on ix. 21, xxi. 8. Note the articles throughout which R. V. expresses.

ποιῶν. The word is the same as in St John 1 Ep. i. 6. To *do* the truth or a lie is a great deal more, for good or evil, than merely to *say* it. In that passage, the false Christian's falsehood lies altogether in what he does, not in the privileges he claims, which would be truly his, if not belied by his life.

16. **ἐγὼ Ἰησοῦς.** Here only does our Lord reveal His Name, though from i. 13, 18 onwards, it has been obvious that He is the revealer; as was expressed in the title, i. 1. Whether He is *personally* present, however, is doubtful: the words are His, but it is probably still the Angel that speaks them.

τὸν ἄγγελόν μου. Would our Lord say this of any Angel of the Lord, because "all things that the Father hath are His"? Or has our Lord, as Man, an Angel of His own in the same way that His saints have? This passage is at least consistent with the view that His Angel appears in His form, as St Peter's was supposed to do, Acts xii. 15. It is very ably argued by St Augustine (*de Cura pro Mortuis*), that if any apparitions after death or at the moment of death are really ob-

jective and supernatural, they must be ascribed to angels, not to the spirits of the dead. But we must remember that our Lord's state is not the same as that of His departed servants. He is already in the body of the Resurrection, and so conceivably visible. And there can be no doubt that He appeared in His own risen body to St Paul, and probably to St Stephen. It may be therefore, that He now appears personally to St John, at once superseding and authenticating the previous ministry of the Angel.

ἡ ῥίζα καὶ τὸ γένος Δαυείδ. For the former of these identical titles see on v. 5. The accumulation of synonyms in this and the next clause is like "assemble" and "meet," "dissemble" and "cloke" in the Prayer-book.

ὁ ἀστὴρ ὁ λαμπρὸς ὁ πρωϊνός. There may be a reference to Num. xxiv. 17, or to the title of "the Day-spring," St Luke i. 78, and perhaps Zech. iii. 8, vi. 12. In ii. 28, though the words are more nearly the same as here, the sense is different; see note there.

17. The Spirit and the Bride.

17. καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἡ νύμφη. "The Bride" is, it is here implied, the Church on earth, imploring her absent Lord to come to her. But the Bride throughout this Book has been the perfect or heavenly Church; notice the identification of the Church in both states. Notice also the identity of St Paul's doctrine, and in part of his imagery, Gal. iv. 26; Eph. v. 25 sqq. "The Spirit" is, as in Rom. viii. 26, the Spirit dwelling in or inspiring the faithful: the Spirit says "Come!" when He teaches the Bride to say it.

ἔρχου. The same word as in vi. 1, 3, 5, 7.

ὁ ἀκούων. He who hears the invocation (as all do who hear the words of this prophecy) is to join in it.

ὁ διψῶν. Is. lv. 1.

ἐρχέσθω. Correlative to the "coming" of Christ to us is our "coming" to Him. The invocation "Come!" in the earlier clauses is certainly addressed to Him, so that this does not express the answer to it. But it is evident (even more evident in the Greek than in the English) that the thought is present of the one coming being correlative to the other. We come to Christ, that we may learn to "love His appearing," and be able to cry to Him "Come," instead of fearing it.

ὁ θέλων λαβέτω. This clause is rather explanatory of the preceding one than coordinate with it.

δωρεάν. i.e. "without money and without price." Cf. xxi. 6.

18—21. The Final Testimony of the Seer and his Benediction.

18. ἐάν τις. Deut. iv. 2, xii. 32. The parallel of those passages proves, that the curse denounced is on those who interpolate unauthorised *doctrines* in the prophecy, or who neglect essential ones; not on transcribers who might unadvisedly interpolate or

omit something in the true text. The curse, if understood in the latter sense, has been remarkably ineffective, for the common text of this book is more corrupt, and the truer text oftener doubtful, than in any other part of the N.T. It is probable however that many more difficult expressions would have been softened away if scribes had not taken the warning to themselves: it was certainly applied in this sense by Andreas. But it may be feared that additions and omissions in the more serious sense have also been frequently made by rash interpreters. It is certain that the curse is designed to guard the integrity of *this* Book of the Revelation, not to close the N.T. canon. It is not even very probable that this was the last written of the canonical books.

ἐπ' αὐτά. The unemphatic pronoun is best rendered "thereto." Though it cannot refer grammatically to *τοὺς λόγους κ.τ.λ.*, no doubt it does so ungrammatically.

19. ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου...ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. His part is to be cut off from the Tree, cast out from the City.

τῶν γεγραμμένων. Is in apposition to both, includes them, but is hardly limited to them.

20. Ναὶ.... "Yea (in answer to the prayers of *v.* 17) I come quickly."

21. μετὰ πάντων. See crit. note. This does not seem so much in the spirit of the Book as the alternative reading *τῶν ἁγίων*.

APPENDIX.

EXCURSUS I.

The Angels of the Churches: Elemental Angels: the Living Creatures.

There are two views of the angels of the Churches. According to one they are simply the bishops of the Churches; according to the other they are superhuman beings standing in some intimate relation to the Churches, more intimate than the relation to Nature of the angels who hold the four winds, vii. 1, the angel who hath power over the fire, xiv. 18, and presumably the angel of the waters, xvi. 5. The first view, which at present is perhaps the most widely received, rests upon the following considerations. In Haggai i. 13 the prophet, in Mal. ii. 7 the priest is 'the angel of "THE LORD,"' and it is generally agreed (see note in *Cambridge Bible for Schools, ad loc.*) that 'the angel,' Eccl. v. 6, means simply the priest. Hence as in St Ignatius the bishop is always the chief minister of the Christian Sacrifice it might seem that he is a priest and mystically an 'angel.' Again, as Westcott and Hort, *ad loc.* Greek Testament, ii. 137, point out, there is an analogy between what we may call the 'style and title' of the 'angels' and the style and title of the pagan high-priests of Asia. Moreover, if Jezebel be the wife of the 'angel' in Thyatira he must be a man, as she is a woman. No inference can be drawn from the name, which in Greek would be the same as 'angel,' of an officer in the synagogue who may have been established in St John's time: for he was in no sense a ruler; in the Christian hierarchy he corresponded to an acolyte, not to a bishop.

The great difficulty in the way of this view is that the 'angels' seem to be more completely identified with the Churches than human bishops can be: take for instance the messages to Sardis or Laodicea, can we suppose that the Church had all the faults of the bishop or the bishop all the faults of the Church? Take even the message to Ephesus: can we suppose that the fervour of the Church and the bishop has been declining *pari passu* for exactly the same time? Nor can we infer from the way in which Old Testament saints from Jeremiah to Nehemiah confess the sins of their people as if they were their own, nor even from Is. liii. 6 that the Lord lays the iniquity of the Church upon the bishop as a matter of course. Again, the seven candlesticks are the seven Churches, the seven stars are the 'angels.' One would expect an impenitent bishop to perish with his Church, yet the threat to the 'angel' at Ephesus is 'except thou repent I will take away thy candlestick,' not 'I will cast thee out of My hand.' This cannot be pressed: both the threat and the counsel to the 'angel' at Laodicea suggest a human rather than a superhuman recipient, though the former at least must be metaphorical. It is rather an evasion than a solution to regard the 'angels' as mere

personifications of the prevailing spirit of the Churches: such a view would be at bottom unreal and unmeaning, but on the surface it has fewer difficulties than either the view that the 'angels' are human bishops, or that they are perfect, blessed, faultless spirits charged with the oversight of communities which may be imperfect, faulty, miserable. This view indeed depends entirely upon a doctrine of angels which perhaps would only be found in Holy Scripture by readers who bring it there with them. Those who were praying in the house of Mary the mother of John, whose surname was Mark, clearly believed that Peter's angel would speak with Peter's voice: did they believe that he was, so to speak, a heavenly double of Peter who came into the world with him? It is important to remember that they were familiar with the whole body of thought at which we have to guess mainly from the incidental notices and hints of sacred writers who appear in some measure to share, and therefore to sanction, the beliefs of their own day. While the 'little ones' keep their innocency their 'angels' see the Father's face. When they seek out many inventions it may be that their 'angels' are charged 'with folly' because they too have failed to keep 'the first estate.' Again in Ezek. xxviii. 11—19, we seem to have a prophecy against the superhuman 'king of Tyrus,' parallel to the prophecy in xxviii. 1—10 against the human prince who thinks himself God. If so, the 'king of Tyrus,' who for all his superhuman attributes is to perish with the city with which he has been created, must be something like the 'spiritual form' of the city, a spirit with a personality of his own, yet wise with its wisdom, rich with its wealth, proud with its pride. The book of Daniel gives us no reason to think that the 'princes' of Persia and of Grecia belong to a higher order. If there be such spirits of nations, certainly it is simplest to think that the 'angels' stand in the same relation to 'Churches,' in the eternal order of grace and glory, as that in which 'princes' stand to nations, in the temporal order of secular providence. But since the time of St Victorinus no interpreter has ventured to maintain that elect angels can have real need of repentance as the 'angels' of the churches certainly have.

In the Old Testament angels seem to be identified in some sense with stars, e.g. Job iv. 18, xxv. 3, 5; and with fire and wind, Ps. civ. 4; and Longfellow's lines,

> 'The angels of wind and of fire
> Breathe each but one song and expire,'

are true to one aspect of Rabbinical speculation in which angels seem to forestall the 'metaphysical' conception of 'forces.' There is no trace that either line of thought influenced the Seer of Patmos. The elemental angels, so to call them, are apparently pure spirits, who neither impart their characters to what they act upon nor are influenced in their own character by the sphere of their action. The angel of the waters no more suffers loss when they who are worthy have blood given them to drink than the angels who withhold the four winds from blowing. Still the energy of the material universe seems like the giving of the law to be committed to the disposition

of angels. So far as this goes we might suppose that even the Angel of the Bottomless Pit was like the evil angels of Ps. lxxviii. 49, a not unwilling minister of God's anger, but unless he is the same as the fallen star he is himself a prisoner in the Pit with those over whom he rules; in this he is like the four angels bound in the river Euphrates, who also are held ready to execute a work of vengeance at a time appointed. It may be added that though the writer of the Ascent of Isaiah x. 8, who seems to imitate this passage, distinguishes the 'angel who is in hell' from 'Destruction,' i.e. 'Abaddon,' he clearly assumes that hell is the permanent dwelling of the angel.

The four living creatures certainly correspond to the cherubim in Ezekiel. The resemblances outweigh the differences, and it is to be supposed that St John, like Ezekiel, could only see the 'appearance' of spiritual forms. The throne in his vision is immoveable: it reminds us not of Him Who bowed the heavens and came down, but of the Father of Lights without variableness or shadow of turning. Instead of wheels full of eyes the living creatures are full of eyes themselves. If the eyes are stars, we might say that if the cherubim in Ezekiel are spirits in a sense, of the storm, the living creatures are spirits of constellations, the true power behind the starry shapes that men have traced in the sky. The two do not exclude each other. Heavenly princes of the east, of the west, of the north, of the south, might be manifested in vision under either shape.

The four riders who appear one by one as each of the first four seals is opened recall not only sword famine and pestilence among the four sore judgements in Ezekiel, but the four chariots in Zechariah, which seem expressly identified with the four winds. This makes it more remarkable that the four living creatures cry 'Come,' one by one, before the riders appear. The riders come (? from the four ends of heaven) in answer to this cry, even if we suppose that in its deepest meaning the cry is for the coming of the Judge Himself, Whose heralds all judgements are.

In Daniel the four beasts who symbolise the four kingdoms are raised up by the strife of the four winds upon the great deep, as if the first thing shewed to the prophet was four world-wide kingdoms, each arising from one of the four ends of the earth. As all four are in rebellion against the Ancient of Days, Who allows no dominion but the fifth monarchy of one like unto the Son of Man, we cannot follow the Jewish speculation which finds an anticipation of Daniel in Ezekiel, and identifies his living creatures with the four empires, the Persian having the face of a man because it dealt favourably with Israel. Both in Ezekiel and in the Revelation we must assume that the living creatures are perfectly pure and holy.

Assuming the living creatures to be personal creatures and servants of God, the highest of His creatures, the most honoured of His servants, it becomes less important to determine what is meant by their several forms, though it be admitted that they are symbolical. We need frame no exclusive theory of what suggested them or of what they were intended to suggest. Certainly the view that they represent creation will not bear pressing, even in the sense that they are manifested

in forms borrowed from all creation, to shew that they act not only for themselves, but for all living creatures upon earth. It is not convincing in itself: the classification of creatures into men, wild beasts, tame beasts and birds, looks arbitrary not to say false, whether judged logically, zoologically, or in reference to the Biblical account of creation: if it were certain that the Jewish explanation of Ezekiel represented a settled tradition older than St John, it would of course tell in favour of applying it with most modern critics to the Revelation, but it does not seem to be older than the conjecture (quite inapplicable to the Revelation) that the four living creatures correspond to the standards of the fourfold host of Israel in the wilderness.

On the other hand there is no doubt that the view which regards the living creatures as symbolical of the Gospels is traditional in the best sense. It is at least as old as St Irenaeus, and it has been handed down ever since. It is true that there is no traditional agreement as to which living creature represents which Gospel. The tradition which ruled medieval and modern art does not go back beyond St Victorinus. According to him St Mark who begins with the voice crying in the wilderness is the roaring lion, St Matthew who begins with the descent of the Lord after the flesh is the man, St Luke who begins with the sacrifice of Zacharias is the ox, St John is the high flying eagle. St Augustin (who does not seem to know the view of St Victorinus), without committing himself to either thinks those more likely to be right who make Matthew the lion, Mark the man, Luke the calf, John the eagle, than those who make Matthew the man, Mark the eagle, and John the lion. This last is the arrangement of St Irenaeus, who like St Victorinus argues from the opening words (instead of as St Augustin thought better from the whole idea of the Gospel[1]); but instead of finding the lion's voice in the opening of St Mark he finds the wings of prophecy, in St John he finds the royalty of the only Begotten of the Father. No one seems to have questioned that the sacrificial calf is the symbol of St Luke (though guessing *a priori* the third of the living creatures seems to symbolise the third evangelist at least as well), and this suggests that the identification rests on a real tradition. The assignment of the eagle to St John is certainly appropriate[2], if we could be sure that his gospel

[1] Hence St Matthew is the lion, because his is the Gospel of the Kingdom of the Lion of the tribe of Judah.

[2] See Keble's 'Hymn for St John's Day,' in *Salisbury Hymnal*, reprinted in *Poems*:

Word supreme before creation,
Born of God eternally,
Who didst will for our salvation
To be born on earth, and die;
Well Thy saints have kept their station,
Watching till Thine hour drew nigh.
Now 'tis come, and faith espies Thee,
Like an eaglet in the morn,
One in steadfast worship eyes Thee,
Thy belov'd, Thy latest born:
In Thy glory he descries Thee
Reigning from the tree of scorn.

was written when he saw his vision; and that, if it were, the Four Gospels were as familiar to him as the Twelve Apostles of the Lamb. It might be safer to say that the four forms represent four elements of the highest excellence, which are embodied in Christ's Kingdom, and His Sacrifice, His Humanity and His Union with the Father: if we will we may see in their number a hint at the reason why God's Providence caused His Gospel to be transmitted to us just in four forms respectively devoted to the setting forth of each of these doctrines. As St Irenaeus says, *Adv. Haer.* III. xii., 'the faces of the Cherubim are images of the operation of the Son of God: for the first living creature is like a lion signifying His energy and rule and royalty, the second like a calf manifesting His sacrificial and priestly ministry, the third having a face of a man most clearly describing His coming as Man, the fourth like a flying eagle declaring the gift of the Spirit lighting upon the Church.' The next words are ambiguous; it is not clear whether it is the living creatures or the Gospels, whose voice accords with their nature, that are the throne of Christ. St Jerome is clearer. In his letter to Paullinus he calls the Gospels the chariot of the Lord and the true cherubim. He cannot be said to go too far. Before the Father was revealed in the Son, He made darkness His secret place and shewed Himself to prophets and psalmists wrapt in clouds and riding upon the wings of the wind: it is given to Christians to behold with open face in the fourfold Gospel the Throne of God and the Lamb, Who rides through the world, as St Augustin says, to subdue the nations to His easy yoke and His light burden.

EXCURSUS II.

On the Heresies controverted in the Revelation.

The traditions about St John's life in Asia Minor are unanimous, and the oldest and best authenticated traditions are not least clear or detailed, in the statement that the Apostle was engaged, not only in ordering the Church peaceably, in its internal constitution, but in controversy with heretics, who divided the Church's unity and denied the faith which is its foundation. And in fact, in all St John's Epistles (1. ii. 18—24, iv. 1—6, II. 7, 10, III. 9, 10) we have direct allusions to heretical or schismatical teachers, and St John's own doctrine stated in a more or less controversial form: while large portions of the First Epistle, and some even of the Gospel (e.g. the introduction), become more intelligible if we see in them a tacit reference to the heresies which either denied or perverted the doctrines there stated.

Tradition and internal probability alike lead us to understand these controversies to be particularly concerned with the heresy of the Judaising Gnostic Cerinthus; which, in all probability, did not arise till near the close of St John's life. Not the least of the arguments for referring the Revelation to an earlier date is this, that, while the controversial element in it is at least as large, the doctrines controverted are of a different and, apparently, of an earlier type.

The only sect mentioned by name is the Nicolaitan: and for the characteristics of this, the Apocalypse itself is our only *quite* unimpeachable authority. The Nicolaitans are indeed mentioned by St Irenaeus, and by later writers against heretics who used his works, apparently as still existing: but there is always some uncertainty in statements about the doctrines and practices of these secret and discreditable societies, and we cannot be sure how far St Irenaeus' statements rest on independent evidence, how far on mere inference or conjecture from what is said of them in this Book.

In fact, he says little more than this Book does make plain—that they were one of the Antinomian sects that arose in or beside the early Church, who claimed licence for sensual sin. There are two conceivable grounds on which they may have done so, neither directly supported by the evidence of the Apocalypse, but both intelligible historically, and traceable to causes that were really at work. They may, like the so-called Antinomians of modern times, have pressed St Paul's doctrine of the freedom of Christians from the Law into an assertion of the indifference, to the spiritual, of all outward actions: or they may have argued from the false spiritualism which regarded the flesh as essentially evil, and rejected the attempt to sanctify it.

What traditional evidence we have supports rather the latter view. St Clement of Alexandria—a writer somewhat later than St Irenaeus, and less directly acquainted with the main stream of Johannine tradition in Asia Minor, but early enough to have received genuine traditions, and educated enough to know the difference between tradition and conjecture—describes the sect as deriving their name from Nicolaus or Nicolas the Deacon (Acts vi. 5). He adds, that Nicolas was not really responsible for their excesses, but that they abused in a sensual sense language which he used in an ascetic. Moreover he tells stories of Nicolas' personal life, which do not sound like inventions, but rather like features of a real human character—a man of strong passions and strong principles, willing, in his own words, "to do violence to the flesh," but unable to conceive the higher ideal of "the flesh being subdued to the Spirit."

In fact, there seems no doubt that this representation of the relation of Nicolas and the Nicolaitans is at least ideally true. There were in the later apostolic age—at least as early as the Epistle to the Colossians—ascetic teachers, who preached bodily mortification as the one and the indispensable condition of holiness and spiritual progress, and regarded the indulgence of any bodily appetite as almost necessarily sinful. The characters of such men are often as austere as their theories, and command a half-reluctant respect, which not infrequently commends the theories to aspirants after purity, better than a more willing assent might do. On the other hand, not infrequently even the leaders and teachers, however sincere in their theories and professions, break down in the attempt

> "to wind themselves too high
> For sinful man beneath the sky,"

and fall into the very carnal sins, for fear of which they have con-

demned the most innocent carnal indulgences. And if this is not the case with the leaders, it is almost always with their followers, sooner or later. Either their austere theories and practice provoke a reaction, and men boldly assert everything, and do everything, that is most opposed to what they have taught and done: or their followers deduce from their principles (as it is said happened with Nicolas) an indifference to all moral rules. It is said that it is necessarily sinful to indulge the flesh: now human life cannot be sustained without *some* indulgence of the flesh, at least in food and drink. It follows, that fleshly sin is inevitable: if then spiritual perfection is attainable, it must be because fleshly sin is no obstacle to it. Consequently, it ceases to be worth while to minimise fleshly sin, as the ascetics did: the true conclusion (certainly the most agreeable to corrupt human nature) will be, to let the flesh go its own sinful way, while the spirit pursues its own path to what is regarded as perfection.

It thus seems likely enough that the traditions describing the Nicolaitans as teaching the moral indifference of carnal acts are to be trusted; and that the sect grew up without any direct connexion with the controversy about the obligation of the Law upon the consciences of Christians. No doubt, as the Epistle to the Colossians shews, the mystical and ascetic theory of life had an affinity to one side of Judaism, and there were Jewish sects or schools that held it: but it does not appear that St John's controversy with the Nicolaitans was directly connected with the controversies which we hear of in the life of St Paul. It must be remembered that Nicolas the Deacon, if he were in any sense the founder of the sect, was not a Jew by birth. But we seem, in the early chapters of the Apocalypse, to find traces of another controversy, perhaps less vital in its issues, perhaps one of which the danger was over at the date of the vision, which may more probably be identified with that between St Paul and the Judaizers. At Ephesus we hear of them "who say that they are Apostles and are not," and at Smyrna and Philadelphia of "them who say that they are Jews, and are not:" and these designations certainly suggest to our minds men like St Paul's Jewish opponents, "false Apostles," in his own words, "transforming themselves into the Apostles of Christ." And the developement of this party, or some party like them, in the district round Ephesus is foretold by St Paul in Acts xx. 29, and mentioned historically in 2 Tim. i. 15: now if the Apocalypse was written only five or six years after the last, it is likely enough that in the Church of Ephesus, particularly, their memory would be fresh, yet the immediate danger from them be over, in the way implied in the Apocalypse.

And no doubt, what is said of the false Jews at Philadelphia, and perhaps at Smyrna, does suggest that the contrast is between the true Jews who saw the Law fulfilled in the Gospel, and owned all believers in the Gospel as brethren, and those who lost their right to the name of Jews by insisting on the exclusive rights of the old Judaism. So far, St John (or He Whose words he reports) condemns the same spirit as St Paul, though it is doubtful how far the controversy is with Judaism as something external to Christianity, how far with Jewish pretensions within the Christian Church. But while the false Apostles at Ephesus

were plainly professing Christians, we learn nothing as to the nature of their false teaching or the ground of their false claims. They *may* just as well have been antinomians as Judaizers: and, as they seem plainly distinguished from the Nicolaitans, their antinomianism *may* have rested on ultra-Pauline rather than on dualistic reasoning.

This possibility is the utmost that can reasonably be conceded towards the view propounded by Baur and his school, and retained and popularized by Renan, that most of the controversy in the Apocalypse is directed against St Paul himself. Not only is he himself the false Apostle whom the Church at Ephesus is praised for rejecting, but his followers are identified at once with the false Jews and with the Nicolaitans, and he or his doctrine or his school with the Jezebel of Thyatira. Arbitrary as this theory is, no less than shocking to our feelings of Christian reverence, it seems necessary to refute what has been advocated with such confidence, and by writers of such reputation. The one point common to St Paul with "Jezebel" and the Nicolaitans is, that while they "taught and seduced Christ's servants to eat things offered to idols, and to commit fornication," St Paul did not teach that it was absolutely and in all cases unlawful to eat meat that might possibly have formed part of an idol sacrifice: and that he regarded marriages between a Christian and a heathen as lawful, at least in some cases. Now it is quite possible, that some Christian teachers in St Paul's day might (on the former point at least) have held more rigorous views than his: in fact, more rigorous views did practically prevail in the Church after the Apostolic age: but it is absurd to imagine that any one could charge him with extreme laxity on either point. On the former, he not only taught that the liberty secured by the knowledge "that an idol is nothing in the world," and "that nothing is unclean in itself," was not to be exercised without regard to the prejudices or scruples of others (1 Cor. viii. 9—13, x. 28 sq.; Rom. xiv. 14 &c.); but also, that to "sit at meat in the idol's temple," at the actual sacrificial feast, was a real act of "communion with devils" (1 Cor. viii. 10, x. 14—22). It might be superstition to think that an idol was a real devil: but the "weak brother" who thought so was right on the practical point, that idol-worship was devil-worship, and that sharing in a sacrificial feast was an act of worship, whether the feast and the worship were Jewish, Christian, or heathen. Moreover, in his discussion of the question he refers (1 Cor. x. 8), as St John does, to the sin into which Israel was led by Balaam.

And if on this point it might be thought that some would have desired a more categorical prohibition than St Paul gave, as to fornication no one could desiderate more definite language than his. And it is absurd to suppose that the word is used in different senses. When the thing itself was so common as everyone knows it to have been in that age—when it was so hard as St Paul found it to keep the infant Church pure from it—it is incredible that St John, or the Church of Jerusalem (Acts xv. 20, 29), should have wasted their indignation on lawful and honourable marriages, even if not such as they altogether approved. St Paul himself, while recognising marriage with a heathen as valid and sacred, when already contracted before the conversion of one party

(1 Cor. vii. 13, 14), and as binding on the Christian so long as respected by the other, did not approve of a Christian contracting a fresh one (ib. 39, 2 Cor. vi. 14).

Unlike as the Apocalypse is to St Paul's writings in style and manner, we shall find in it not infrequent occurrence of ideas supposed to be characteristically Pauline, and one or two probable references (see notes on xviii. 20, xx. 4) to St Paul himself. These are worthy of study, not for controversial purposes only. But to the school of critics who suppose St Paul's dispute with St Peter (Gal. ii. 11 sqq.) to have been bitter and lifelong, and the former to have been repudiated by the Twelve and by the main body of the Church, it is a sufficient reply to ask, "If Christ were divided against Himself, how did His Kingdom stand?"

EXCURSUS III.

On the supposed Jewish Origin of the Revelation of St John.

Perhaps it is most candid to begin with the confession, that I approached the study of Vischer's theory of the origin of the Apocalypse with a strong prejudice against it, and a conscious reluctance to admit its truth. Such a prejudice, in fact, is likely to be very general, for two reasons. Professor Harnack confesses, that he himself felt one—that, when commentators have laboured over a book for 17 centuries, it is *a priori* unlikely that their labours will be superseded, and the whole subject cleared up, by a single hint throwing a new light on the problem: and, to state the same thing from a lower point of view, when a man has himself laboured for years or decades on the subject, he is not willing to suppose all that labour to be superseded by the happy intuition of a young divinity student.

But there is another ground for reluctance to accept the theory, which one may feel more hesitation in sweeping aside as unworthy. The Revelation of St John as it stands is a sublime work, a work of high inspiration, whether its inspiration be understood in the strictly Christian or supernatural sense, or in the lax sense in which we apply the term to works of human genius. On purely literary grounds, we have the same prejudice against supposing that such a work can have grown by progressive additions and interpolations, that we have to the theory that the *Iliad* was made "by mere fortuitous concourse of old songs:" and the literary prejudice may very well be reinforced by a theological one, if we believe that the writer was not simply a writer of genius, but was, or at all events believed himself to be, a seer, the recipient of a God-given revelation of Jesus Christ.

And just as Mr Gladstone, or any other "conservative" writer on the Homeric question, is able to put his prejudice into the form of an argument, and shew, more or less convincingly, that the traditional view accounts for phenomena which are incredible on the revolutionary view, so here it would be easy to start from this prejudice as a basis for

argument: to shew various characteristics that mark the Revelation as a real vision, not a free composition, or to argue that the differences of tone between various parts of it are due, not to differences in the human temper of the author or authors, but to the divine many-sidedness that comprehends at once all the aspects of everything.

I do not say that such an argument would be worthless: but it would be difficult to appreciate its value. What lies at the base of it is what those who share it will call an instinct, and those who do not a prejudice: the arguments that grow out of this will seem convincing to those who use them, even though they prove unconvincing to those to whom they are addressed. Their main strength lies, not in that which can be put in the shape of a formal argument, but in what cannot: and though there may be clear cases, where the instinct is so plainly sound that the statement of its verdict is convincing, I do not venture to think that the case of the Apocalypse is thus clear.

The real evidence in favour of Vischer's view is this, that there are large sections of the Apocalypse where no distinctively Christian elements appear: that some of these, while in harmony with non-Christian Jewish opinions and hopes, are difficult to adjust with a Christian point of view: that the visions, as they stand in the present form of the book, do not present a continuously progressive story: and that a considerable number, both of the visions and of the isolated expressions which interrupt the narrative, are just the passages (sometimes the only passages in their neighbourhood) which are distinctively Christian. This last argument is one that Vischer seems to press rather too universally and rigorously: but there are at least a remarkable number of coincidences between the passages which the theory is obliged to mark as interpolations because they are Christian, and those which might independently be guessed to be so as out of harmony with their context. I do not, however, give very much weight to this last argument. If we suppose the whole Revelation to be a record of a vision really seen in ecstasy—possibly written, in part at least[1], during the ecstasy—it is quite credible that the seer should have written a sentence like xvi. 15 when he heard or seemed to hear the words, though their connexion with what he is describing be remote and subjective: it is really harder to imagine a transcriber or translator interpolating them in the course of his narrative, even if he believed them to be a revelation made to him.

But it will really be best, in judging what weight is to be given to these considerations, or what conclusions are to be drawn from them, to examine the structure of the Revelation itself; not attending to the arguments of Vischer or any other theorist in detail or for their own sake, but using them when they throw any light on the possible source or structure of the work, and accepting or rejecting them if the work in its turn throws a decisive light on their true worth and character.

The first three chapters, it is admitted on all hands, are in some sense separable from the rest, though not really independent of them. On the one hand, the work as we have it is the production of one writer:

[1] This is implied, or at least suggested, in x. 4 as well as xiv. 13 and other passages ascribed by Vischer to the Christian redactor.

the peculiar style, language never wanting in vigour, subject to laws of its own, but those utterly different from the laws of ordinary Greek grammar, even in its most Hellenistic modification, are decisive proofs of this. But though the book is the work of one person, and forms a more or less harmonious work of art, there are parts of it that can be separated from the rest, and form in a sense wholes apart from the rest: and this is eminently the case with these chapters. They, it may be said, form a frame for the picture: the picture and the frame suit each other, and we have to decide, substantially, whether this is because the frame was designed by the original artist for the picture, or because the picture has been retouched to harmonise with the frame. The way to determine this will be, to confine our attention to the picture, and see if it shews signs of retouching.

Thus it will suffice for us to begin our examination of the book with the fourth chapter. From this point onwards, we have a series of visions *prima facie* successive, and symbolic of a series of events in chronological succession. We shall see whether this *prima facie* view is tenable: and if not, whether it breaks down in consequence of the various visions being independent of one another, or because they are designed to represent parallel and not successive series of events.

The introduction to this series of visions occupies the fourth and fifth chapters: and this introduction, the sublimest part of the whole book, and the most familiar to the Christian mind, seems to me absolutely to resist the disintegrating forces applied to it by Harnack and Vischer. Like Micaiah, Isaiah, Ezekiel, and the author of the seventh chapter of Daniel, the Seer sees the Lord sitting on His Throne: as in Ezekiel's vision, the throne is supported and surrounded[1] by four living creatures, each one having six wings like Isaiah's Seraphim, and like them repeating incessantly the Trisagion in praise of the Everlasting Lord of the Ineffable Name. Of course, this is all Old Testament imagery, and does not go beyond the range of Jewish ideas: but why should it? No Christian before Gnosticism had made some progress ever doubted that the Father of his Lord Jesus Christ was the eternal Lord God of Israel, Who had revealed Himself to Moses and the Prophets.

But in the next chapter we have distinctive Christian doctrine, indicated by imagery from which it is really impossible to eliminate the Christian element. Vischer admits that here (and, he says, here only) it is impossible to strike out a single sentence or paragraph, and leave the remaining passage to stand in continuous integrity when freed from interpolation. I go further, and venture to say that it is as arbitrary to attempt to eliminate the figure of the Lamb as it is impossible to exclude His action in the next chapter. Vischer and Harnack agree that, if this work be Jewish, "a Lamb standing as it had been slain," can have

[1] So I understand *ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ κύκλῳ τοῦ θρόνου*. Their hinder parts are under the throne, reaching to its centre: their faces appear outside and beyond it—probably at the four corners. The Lamb, when He appears, is *ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ τῶν τεσσάρων ζώων*—i.e. proceeding from between the feet of Him That sitteth upon the throne, in the midst of the front of it. *ἐν μέσῳ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων*, in the centre of the circle (or semicircle) of the elders, is coordinate with this clause, not with either of its two members.

had no original place in it: it can symbolise nothing or no one except "Him that liveth and was dead." But they say it is impossible to do more than guess what stood originally in the Lamb's place: they offer two guesses, but do not pretend that either is convincing. To me it seems absurd that either a lion or a human figure should be introduced with the attributes that the Lamb has here. The seven eyes are of course, like the rest of the imagery, taken from the Old Testament—from the seven "eyes of the Lord" mentioned in Zechariah: and I admit that it would take a skilful artist so to represent them as not to be grotesque. But they can be imagined without a shock to reverence: and I do not think a lion—still less a man—with seven horns can. Of course the Beast with seven heads and ten horns is grotesque enough, but no reverence is due to him. Our author—be he Prophet, visionary, or compiler—has too sound instincts, both literary and religious, to set a monster like either of these in the midst of the Throne of God.

A further question that appears worth asking is, what, on the view that we have here a work of Jewish origin, does the Opener of the seals symbolise? Apparently, still the Messiah: but what Messiah? The divinely sent but human Son of David is not yet born: it, therefore, the visions symbolise events in their chronological order (and on this assumption the theory largely rests), He Who opens the seals must be the *pre-existent* Messiah—who thereby comes very near to the Messiah of Christian, even of Johannine or catholic, belief. I do not say that there is no possibility of explaining the figure by some conception within the range of Jewish thought. I am not prepared to say that no non-Christian Jew ever conceived the Messiah as pre-existing before His manifestation on earth. Still less do I know. I am not sure if it can be known whether the conception of the Metatron, whose name is readily suggested by the description of "the Lamb in the midst of the Throne," was a conception already formulated in a Jewish school within the first century of the Christian era. We must leave these questions to specialists: only it must be said that these ideas, if they ever were entertained by Jews uninfluenced by Christianity, are ideas common to them with Christians. He Who opens the Book that lay in the hand of God is, substantially, identical with the eternal Son of God of Christian belief: the only Christian doctrine which can be blotted out of the picture without destroying it altogether is, that this eternal Son of God is the slain yet living Redeemer of mankind. And the doctrine of His Redemption is even harder to eliminate than that of His Death. We might cut out the two words ὡς ἐσφαγμένον, though there is no reason that the Lion of the Tribe of Judah should appear as a Lamb, except for the purpose of suffering a sacrificial, perhaps distinctively a paschal, death: but how are we to cut out the hymns that form the climax of the chapter? Before He has done anything that it will be news to the readers of this Apocalypse to hear of, He Who is in the midst of the Throne has already proved Himself "worthy" to do what He now does: He is already adorable, and adored by them that have their tabernacle in heaven. For it not, *what?* Here we have the climax of this inspired and inspiring work of art (to call it nothing

higher): is it credible that the crowning stroke, the central feature, was put to it by the after-thought of an interpolator, in pursuance of a dogmatic purpose? I have tried to avoid treating the matter on mere grounds of taste or feeling: but it is impossible to believe the incredible. I can believe that the *Iliad* once ended without the burial of Hector, and once did not end with it: but I cannot believe that the Seer who described the hymn of the Living Creatures and the Elders to the Creator left it for a successor, and found a successor, to describe the hymn wherein the Redeemer and Revealer appears as coequal with Him. At least if it was so, St John's inspiration was indeed miraculous.

Here we have the sublimest moment of the vision, its highest point as a mere work of art: but here we have not, evidently, its designed or even possible end. The exalted Lamb must now proceed to do the work which He has undertaken, "to open the book and the seven seals thereof:" the sixth chapter, and something like or in the place of the seventh, are necessary as a sequel to the fourth and fifth. And the sixth chapter is, as has often been pointed out, closely parallel to the Prophecy ascribed by all the Synoptic Gospels to the Lord Jesus, three days before He suffered. Since Vischer, and apparently Harnack, adopt the theory—surely a very paradoxical one—that this is itself a Jewish Apocalypse embodied in Christian tradition, the parallelism is no argument against their view: still it is at least as easily explained on the other. We have no need to explain the details of the vision—to enquire whether the Rider on the white horse is the same Person as He Who has the same attributes in ch. xix., or what meaning the Seer may have attached to the passage in Zechariah which suggested the imagery to him. Neither need we discuss whether the Martyrs whose souls are poured out under the Altar are Jewish or Christian martyrs; the former view has been held by Christian interpreters, and if this proves that Vischer's arguments are not without force, it also proves that their force may be felt without necessitating his conclusion. But when we come to the sixth seal, we have—all admit—an image of the state of things expected just before the consummation of all things, and the Advent of the Messiah to judgement. It may be that here we are still within the range of ideas common to Jews and Christians, it may be that the Seer, if called on to interpret his own vision, would have called the things symbolised "the birth-pangs of the Messiah" rather than "the signs of the Coming" or "of the Appearing of the Lord:" all we need say is, that they fit in exactly with Christian belief, and cannot fit *more* exactly with Jewish.

But when six seals are opened, we have, on any hypothesis, a break in the progress of the narrative. As each of the first four was opened, something happened, and the Lamb went on to the next: the cry "Come!" was heard, and some one came—came forth, apparently, from Heaven, and went out over the earth. With the opening of the next two seals, there follow signs in Heaven, the former anticipating, and the latter producing, certain events on earth: so far, though not closely grouped with the first four seals, the effects of these two are analogous with theirs. But now there is a pause: that is in itself something new.

But the first of the events that fills the pause fits naturally enough into its place. War, scarcity, pestilence, convulsions of nature, have already fallen upon the earth: all men are looking in terror for the revelation of the wrath of God: we are now told, that before it is revealed, the elect remnant of God's own people are to be marked as His, presumably in order to shelter them from that wrath in the day of its revelation. I say presumably, for this object of the sealing is not stated: still it is implied both by the context and by the parallel passage in Ezekiel.

But when the servants of God have been sealed in their foreheads, and we expect the wrath of God to break forth upon the rest of the world, we have instead a vision of God's servants already triumphant: not of "the great tribulation" but of those who come out of it. We need not discuss whether other discrepancies can be reconciled:—whether it is possible that "a great multitude which no man could number, out of all nations and kindreds and people and tongues," can be the same as "144,000 sealed of every tribe of the children of Israel," only regarded from another point of view; or whether, as seems more credible, they be coordinate, and there be among the Elect "of the tribes of Israel a certain number, of all other nations an innumerable multitude." The latter view, I think, would hold well enough if the two visions came later on: but as they stand here, one seems so decidedly to come before and one after the end, that the temptation felt by Vischer to regard the second as an interpolation is very strong. On the other hand, it is very difficult to conceive the second vision as not proceeding from the author of the fourth and fifth chapters: the picture of the white-robed multitude, the words of their hymn, the paradox of the Lamb Who is the Shepherd, as there He was the Lion—all these seem to shew that the thought, as well as the expression, is that of the original author.

But let us pass over these nine verses. They can be omitted altogether as an interpolation: we may, perhaps more plausibly, because a test is harder to apply, regard them not as an interpolation but as themselves interpolated: but in no case are they either more or less than an interruption to the course of the main action. After them, the Lamb who had opened the sixth seal opens the seventh; the main action is resumed just where it had left off—and, I would observe, the fact that the *name* of the Lamb is not repeated, but that the verb stands without a subject, is some presumption that the parenthesis had not been very long: cf. xvi. 17, true text, and contrast ix. 1, 13, xi. 15.

But nowhere have we yet had the winds blowing, as we expected, on the earth, the sea, and the trees: the four angels who appeared at the beginning of ch. vii. are heard of no more. "When He had opened the seventh seal"—when *either* the expected wrath of God should break forth, *or* the indignation should have ceased, and His anger, in their destruction,—instead of God's anger appearing either before or after the opening, "there was silence in Heaven about the space of half an hour." Everything has worked up to a climax: and nothing comes of it. Can this be the consummation intended by the original author? It is conceivable, no doubt, that the preceding episode, which we felt

to be out of place, has displaced what we feel to be wanting—that when God's servants had been sealed, the earth and sea were smitten, and that then, and then only, there followed the *initium quietis aeternae*. But if this be so, still all difficulty does not vanish. The seven seals of the book are now unloosed: why do we not hear of its being opened, perhaps read? Why is not that done, which the Seer "wept much" to think that none could do?

I can think of no answer, if the Apocalypse be regarded as a self-conscious work of art, deliberately conceived: but if we regard it as a *bona fide* vision, the phenomenon seems natural enough. None of us, probably, have experience of visions which we could by the wildest enthusiasm regard as divine revelations, even in a lower degree than this Book claims to be: but our experience of ordinary dreams, or possibly of delirium, may suggest analogies to the psychological processes at work here, though not to their subject-matter. The seer has much more self-control and self-possession than an ordinary dreamer; he knows as a rule what to look for and what to look at, and sees what is shewn to him: but every now and then there is a transition: "a change comes o'er the spirit of his dream," and he loses the thread of the story that he has been telling.—One point in which there seems a constant uncertainty, is this: is his point of view from earth or heaven? More will depend on this when we come to the twelfth chapter. Here it is enough to say, that the Lamb's opening of the book looks like a magnificent torso, with the limbs perfect, and the head wanting. Under these circumstances it is *a priori* unlikely that the shoulders should have undergone restoration. On the other hand, the thread of narrative that is once lost is, always or almost always, resumed again sooner or later. We hear nothing here of the Lamb opening the book of which He has opened the seals: but further on we hear again and again of the Lamb having a book, the Book of Life: and at last in ch. xx. a book *is* opened, "which is the Book of Life:" and this, I believe, is the book whose seals have been opened in this portion of the vision. I have failed to find authority among commentators for this view, and therefore submit it with all diffidence; but it seems to me less arbitrary, with more support in the Revelation itself, than any of the many theories that have been advanced as to what this book can be.

And again without going into matter so remote or so disputable, though we do not hear of the four angels letting loose the four winds upon the earth before the seventh seal or immediately after it, we do, very soon after it[1], hear of four angels by whose ministry the earth, the sea, and the trees are hurt (viz. those who sound the first four trumpets): and then of a woe on those who have not the seal of God in their foreheads. The vision of the seven seals has, it seems, ended without an end: but if it had received its only adequate ending, how could anything more have followed? As it is, the seven trumpets do follow, and partly, though only partly, supply what seems wanting to

[1] We need not pause over the incense-offering angel who is interposed between the seals and the trumpets, nor enquire if "the seven angels who stand before God" have anything to do with "the seven spirits that are before His Throne."

the seven seals. The new series is not independent of the former—it arises out of it.

In fact, we have here a characteristic of the book, which has I think been more clearly insisted on by Renan than by most other commentators. We have a series of events which lead us to expect the end of all things: but instead of an end, we find the beginning of a new series. But every series, or nearly every one, refers backward if not forward to another, and proves that it belongs in its actual place. The phenomenon seems to admit of only two explanations. Either those commentators are right who, from St Victorinus to Alford, have held the different series of visions to be successive only in appearance, and events signified to be not successive but parallel: or else we have one point in which the "continuous historical scheme" of interpretation actually holds good. Again and again, from the Apostles' time to our own, the predicted signs of the Lord's coming have multiplied: men have looked, in hope or fear, for the end of the world: but the world has not come to an end, it has taken a fresh lease of life, and gone on just as before, with judgement and salvation as remote or as imperfect as ever.

We need not discuss what happens on the blowing of the first six trumpets, as here we plainly have no break in the sequence of the narrative, no doubt of its original unity. I should only like to point out, that in the 9th chapter we have one of the dream-like inconsequences, closely resembling that already noted in ch. vii. Again we hear of four angels being let loose, apparently for a work of vengeance: but instead of vengeance being executed by four angels, there appears a countless army of terrible horsemen. And just as, after the sixth seal was opened, instead of the dreaded revelation of the great day of God's wrath, there came the pause and the gathering of the Elect, so after the sixth trumpet—before even "the second woe is past"—there is a pause in which a mighty angel descends, and the Seer receives a new commission.

And here follows the passage whereon Vischer's theory originally rests. "There was given to" the Seer "a reed like unto a staff, saying" -who says it? does the reed itself speak? probably the unnamed, perhaps unseen, giver of it says,—"Arise, and measure the Temple [Sanctuary] of God, and the Altar, and them that worship therein. And the court that is without the Temple cast outward, and measure it not, because it was given to the Gentiles, and the Holy City they shall trample 42 months." It is assumed that this means, that the Gentiles, who at the time of the vision are besieging the Holy City, will capture it, trample it under foot as far as the outer Court of the Temple, perhaps even as far as the Court of Israel: but the Altar and the Sanctuary, the Temple in the narrowest sense, will remain inviolable, and those worshippers who are found in this sacred refuge will be secure. This, I say, is assumed to be the meaning: I cannot think that it is proved. The Seer is bidden to measure the Temple and Altar, and not to measure the outer court: but by what token does that mean that the one is to be destroyed or at least profaned, and the other not? In one passage of Zechariah, the command not to measure Jerusalem means that she shall grow to immeasurable greatness; in Old Testament

imagery generally, to measure may be for destruction as well as for preservation. No doubt, here a contrast is intended between the fate of the Sanctuary and of the outer court: but it is not clear what the contrast is, nor which fate is the better. The outer court was, we are told, given to the Gentiles: when and by whom was it so given? Perhaps by Titus: but it is at least as easy to say, by Herod or Zerubbabel whichever built it: he may, designedly or otherwise, have enlarged Solomon's Temple to be, as Isaiah said it should be, "a house of prayer for all nations." I do not say that this is the seer's meaning, but it is a quite possible one, that the outer court of the Lord's Temple only realised its destiny when it was occupied by Gentiles, who used it for prayer, not by Jews who regarded "the mountain of the House" as only useful for "a house of merchandise" or even "a den of thieves;" and that when the "line of confusion and the stones of emptiness" shall pass over the site of the Temple, the outer court shall remain a holy place, a world wide not a national sanctuary. A Christian of the first century might possibly anticipate this; certainly a Christian of the fifth, perhaps a very tolerant theist of the 19th, might say that it has actually been fulfilled.

I do not myself believe this to be certainly hardly probably the true interpretation; I only say that it is one suggested by the words of the text, and that it ascribes no absurdity to the seer's conception. The Judaic meaning ascribed to him is, I venture to think, utterly absurd. It would be credible to a devout Jew, that the Lord would defend His Holy City as in Hezekiah's day: that though the Land of Israel might be overrun by the heathen, City and Temple should be safe. It would be credible even, at least to a fanatical Jew, that when the City was taken, when even the outer court of the Temple was trodden, the Lord would at last arise and break forth upon His enemies, or would be a wall of fire round about His Sanctuary. Such was, we are told, the actual hope of the fanatic defenders of the Temple, at the last moment before its fall. But could the craziest fanatic suppose, that the Lord would maintain a purely passive defence in His last Citadel? that He would allow the hitherto victorious enemy to hold, for three and a half years, everything up to the Temple wall, while the Temple worship should go on undisturbed and unprofaned, in their midst but out of their reach or sight? What the worshippers are to live on, how sacrifices are to be provided for the Altar, is unexplained. This, if I understand it, is the popular rationalistic view of what the seer meant: the seer was no rationalist, but I do not think he was so irrational as that.

Perhaps the most reasonable view of the meaning of the passage is, that "the Temple" spoken of is not that in the earthly Jerusalem, but its heavenly Archetype, of which we unquestionably read in xi. 19, xv. 5, &c. What then is meant by the different fortune of the Temple proper and the outer court, what by the measuring of one and non-measuring of the other, seems very obscure. Timidly I would ask, can the earthly Temple be regarded as the outer court of the heavenly; but, if this will not stand, to give no explanation seems better than to give an absurd one. The purely Judaic interpretation of this passage is, I venture to say, utterly absurd; one is tempted to say that any other

will be better than this; but it will be enough to say that this has no right to be assumed as an axiom, whereon the true theory of the book's origin or meaning is to be founded.

To proceed to the prediction, rather than vision, that follows: that the two Witnesses are Moses, or a Prophet like unto Moses, and Elias is, I think, almost certain. Their coming as precursors of the Messiah is no doubt quite in harmony with Jewish doctrine, as represented to us at least by the Fourth Gospel. Only as it has (with or without the substitution of Enoch for Moses) been the ordinary belief of Christendom, we cannot deny that it harmonises with Christian doctrine quite as well. That they smite their enemies with plagues after the manner of the historic Moses and Elias, instead of suffering meekly like those who know that they are of another manner of spirit, is hardly a fatal objection to the Christian origin of the passage. It may give a sort of presumption that the tone of the prophecy is not above that of the Old Testament: but when two Christian Apostles delivered offenders to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, it would need a high spiritual discernment to be sure of it. We are on more certain ground, when we note the inconsequent character of the narrative here. The seer does not, in the first instance, see the two Witnesses: the same voice, whosesoever it be, that bade him measure the Temple, tells him what they will do, during 1260 days, presumably the same period as the 42 months of the Gentiles trampling the Holy City. But by degrees the hearing of the description passes into vision—the futures gradually give place, first to presents and then to aorists, just as happens, on a smaller scale, in xx. 7—9. Here, from *v.* 11 or 12 onwards, we are back in the ordinary course of vision. At last, the series of the seven trumpets is resumed: we are told that the second woe is past—did it include the plagues inflicted by the two Witnesses, as well as that of the terrible horsemen of ch. x.? and the seventh trumpet sounds.

And its sounding is not so purely negative, or at least undefined, in its effect as the opening of the seventh seal. It is declared that the Kingdom of the world has passed into the hands of God and His Anointed: it seems that the promise of the mighty angel is fulfilled, and the mystery of God finished. But its completion is not seen. The divine Kingdom is proclaimed, the Lord Who is and was is no longer spoken of as "to come" (though I doubt if this be significant), and is praised for His assumption of power and execution of judgement: but no judgement is visibly executed. Instead of the consummation of all things, we have again a new beginning, a new series of visions, whose developement extends, with certain interruptions, throughout the remainder of the book.

One commentator has tried to make this series of visions more closely parallel with the others, by representing it as consisting of "seven mystical figures"—meaning, I suppose (he did not make it quite clear), the Woman, the Man Child, the Dragon, the two Beasts, the Lamb, and the Son of Man upon the cloud. But when the seer himself says nothing of this enumeration, it is hardly likely that he was conscious of it: and if not, no light is thrown by it upon the genesis of the work. The symmetry would only be important, if we could use it to prove that

this series of visions belongs to its place—that it is not an originally independent apocalypse, embodied with other elements in the work that we have. We are not yet in a position to discuss whether this is so: we will pursue our examination of the sequence of the visions as we find them.

First of all, there appears another great sign in Heaven: the Daughter of Zion, whom Micah described as in travail, now brings forth her Son: Who is, unquestionably, the Messiah, the Hope of Israel. That here the point of view is Judaic need not be questioned: to concede this does not involve the concession of Vischer's theory. Christians have never felt any difficulty in understanding the description here given as applying to the birth of their Christ; though their anti-Judaic feelings have led them to miss the identification of His ideal Mother. They have, as a rule, conceived her as "the Church;" and then there is a little confusion in the image, when afterwards the Church appears as "the Bride, the Lamb's Wife." Regard the vision as that of a Jewish Christian, or at all events a Christian of the days before Jewish and Christian sentiments were hopelessly embittered against one another, and all is clear. Christ is conceived as the Son of the Church of the Old Covenant, the Bridegroom of the Church of the New: we may add, that the Jewish Christian Seer need not have been surprised, though he would have been disappointed, to learn what became plain in the course of the next century, that the Bridegroom had to forsake His Mother, in order to cleave to His Wife.

But while I admit that the crown of twelve stars, and still more the reminiscences of Micah, mark the travailing Woman as being the Daughter of Zion, I do not deny that in other aspects her figure may have other meanings. It seems by no means arbitrary to parallel this passage with the so-called Protevangelium of Gen. iii.—with the legitimacy of which as exegesis, of course, we are not concerned. Here as there, we have the Woman, the Seed of the Woman, and the Serpent—"the old Serpent" is a manifest reference to his action in Eden: here the enmity between the Serpent and the Woman and her Seed is seen at work: and the victory of her Seed over him, though not described under the exact figure of bruising the head, is the main subject of the remainder of the book.

The Woman is then conceived quite as much as being a second Eve, as she is as being the Daughter of Zion. Is she also, in any sense, to be identified with the historical Mother of Jesus? I believe that she is: the language of the Martyrs of Lyons about "the Virgin Mother," and some other fragments of what seem to be pure Johannine traditions, appear to suggest, not perhaps an exaltation of the personal Mary to a position such as that of the Woman here, but a recognition of an ideal Mother of Christ, into whose glory the historical Mary was admitted, and in whom her personality was lost sight of. But this is rather a theological question than an exegetical; at any rate, it is one which criticism cannot touch and may safely pass by.

The pictures given us in this twelfth chapter are grander than any that we have met with since the seventh, perhaps even since the fifth: yet there is a certain vagueness about them—they seem to shift like a

dissolving view. The Woman and the Dragon each appear, in the first instance, "in Heaven;" and there is nothing inconsistent with this in the Child being "caught"—it is not said "caught *up*"—"to God and to His Throne," for the Throne of God is only seen in one definite place, in the midst of Heaven. But, even before the Dragon is cast into the earth, "the Woman fled into the wilderness"—surely there are no wildernesses in Heaven: and when he is cast down, he finds her on earth within seeming reach of his persecution. She flees, we are again told, into the wilderness, and now at least we cannot doubt an earthly one: the earth itself interposes, to protect her flight. And now we find that she who has brought forth one glorious Son—surely, one would think, her First-born—has on earth others of her seed, against whom the Dragon can make war. These are they "who keep the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus." It is utterly arbitrary to excise the last word; even if it were possible to restore the rhythm by substituting a neutral phrase like that in vi. 9, we still could hardly make the doctrine of the passage agree as well with Jewish notions as it now does with Christian, and especially Johannine. "The Firstborn among many brethren"—"I ascend to My Father and your Father"—sayings like these make plain the relations here presupposed: there is nothing inconsistent even with developements like that which St Augustine adopted from Tyconius about the Head and the Members, or even like that of a modern Catholic sermon on "Behold thy Mother."

Vischer's theory seems therefore to pass over the real difficulty of the chapter—the transition from heaven to earth as the scene of action—while he brings forward another, to which this transition affords some sort of explanation. When we read "The Accuser of our brethren is cast down, which accuseth them before our God day and night: and they overcame him"—we surely naturally think of a victory not military (such as was, apparently, gained by Michael and his angels just before), but forensic; and the contradiction between *vv.* 7 and 11 vanishes. We therefore have no need to expunge from the latter the words that tell us how or why the victory was gained. (I say *how* or *why:* for one cannot be sure that this writer knew as well as the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews the classical or philosophical distinction between τὸ δι' οὗ and τὸ δι ὅ.) Still, *v.* 11 does rather break the continuity of the sense; it is difficult to see how the Saints on earth, who suffered even to death in the contest with the Dragon, can be said to have already gained over him even a forensic victory. But we see that in *v.* 6 we have had a proleptic mention of the flight of the Woman, the detailed explanation of which did not come till *v.* 14: it seems therefore possible that the strife between the Dragon and the Saints on earth mentioned in *v.* 17 is that whose end in the victory of the Saints is celebrated proleptically in *v.* 11.

In fact, the "war" of the Dragon against the Saints on earth, the Seed of the Woman, is not carried on by open force, such as Merodach or perhaps even Michael may have used. The Dragon keeps himself out of sight, and enthrones the Beast, as we are told in ch. xiii., as his regent and champion. Of this Beast we have heard already in ch. xi., and we can hardly doubt that the "war" that he then waged against

the two Witnesses is identical with this against the remnant of the Seed of the Woman. It lasts for the same period, Daniel's "time, times, and half a time," otherwise defined as 42 months or 1260 days. If these periods be not coincident, the only plausible view is that one immediately succeeds the other—that they are the first and the second halves of a week of years. But the mention of the Beast as the chief belligerent in both seems to prove their identity: the Woman is placed in safety for just the time that the oppression of her children is to last.

On the details of the oppression we need not dwell, nor on the second Beast, or the enigmatical number. But immediately after the description of the force and fraud exercised by them follows that of the Lamb with His 144,000 redeemed virgins, reminding us, not more by the details of its imagery than by its beauty, both moral and artistic, of the fifth and seventh chapters. How far is it legitimate to regard this passage as out of place where it stands? It certainly interrupts the course of events: but the interruption is of the nature of a relief. From the picture of the triumphant persecuting monster, of the superstitious degradation of the world, we turn away to the spotless holiness and the unapproachable harmony of the Saviour and the saved. The effect is something like that of the doxology in Rom. i. 25, as explained by St Chrysostom—an expression of the sense that the divine blessedness remains unimpaired by human corruption.

However, the five first verses of ch. xiv. are separable from the main narrative: and so, still more, are *vv.* 12, 13. So, most of all, are *vv.* 14—20: if one might venture to wish to discard as an interpolation any part of the attested text of the Apocalypse, it would be this passage. How can it be understood of anything but the final judgement? yet it comes here as anything but final: the last plagues, the completion of the wrath of God, are still to come. The harvest and the vintage of the earth are gathered, but no harvest home is celebrated, and the earth goes on just as before. How is it, that God's wrath is *not* finished in the treading of the great wine-press, from which blood comes forth? and what horses are they whose bridles are reached by the blood that comes out of the wine-press?

On the other hand, except their coming after this image of the final judgement, there is nothing to surprise us in the succession of the seven last plagues. Like as their imagery is to that of the earlier trumpets, there is a real ethical difference and progress: what is still more important, they fit into the place where they stand. We have had first the wrath of the Dragon, then the enthronement and tyranny of the Beast; then the angels warn mankind of the judgement coming on his worshippers and on Babylon: and then come these plagues, the last which God will send in the character of disciplinary chastisement, leaving room (which mankind do not avail themselves of) for repentance. Then, when these plagues have been sent in vain, the fall of Babylon and the overthrow of the Beast will follow as predicted.

But before Babylon does fall, she is set before us as she was in her prosperity. And this episode, though when the Book is finished we see that it has a certain propriety, is certainly felt as an interruption to the narrative here. The Harlot sits on a Beast having seven heads and

ten horns—the fact that such a Beast has been already introduced being ignored. Here he appears as a mere Beast of burden, while before he was enthroned as sovereign of the world. Here he is in scarlet, while there he was like unto a leopard, and presumably the colour of one. I do not wish to speak disrespectfully of the theories of this book that have been built upon one passage in this chapter. As theories of apocalyptic interpretation go, they are at least plausible. But I am afraid that these theories, widely received as they are, may be endangered when we recognise that this chapter is one that can most easily, nay advantageously, be spared, if once we call in question the unity and integrity of the book.

The eighteenth chapter fits on almost equally well with what precedes, whether the seventeenth be retained or no. In either case, there is no description of the fall of Babylon[1], and there is a variation in the tenses, as though the writer were not sure whether it is predicted or commemorated: but we learn, from this and the early part of the next, that the great Harlot City is overthrown, amid the selfish lamentations of earth and the righteous exultations of Heaven. Then "the Son of God goes forth to war," against the Kings of the Earth who, at the outpouring of the sixth vial, had been mustered in the service of the Beast, and who (according to the seventeenth chapter) have dethroned and destroyed the Beast's harlot mistress. The Beast and the False Prophet (who is usually and no doubt rightly identified with the second Beast, or rather perhaps is substituted for him by one of the "dissolving views" of the Book) are overthrown, and the Dragon imprisoned: and the millennial reign of Christ and His Saints follows.

Then comes a prediction, passing gradually (as in ch. xi.) into a description, of the final overthrow of the world. The Dragon, the Devil, repeats in his own person what he had before done through the agency of the Beast: and he, like him, is overthrown, only more by directly divine agency, with even less appearance of a human conqueror. Then follows the final judgement, executed by God in person, Christ not being here named either as His representative or assessor. But the Book of Life is opened, as a kind of check on the other books which contained the record of the good or evil deeds of those who are to be judged: and if we remember how, in other passages, the Book of Life is connected with the Lamb, we have here a hint of almost Pauline doctrine—salvation by the grace of Christ apart from works, and condemnation of those who are judged by works only. There is nothing inconsistent with this in the suggestion, that those who are acquitted will have good works standing to their credit in the other books; these serve, as Alford says, as vouchers for the Book of Life. The concluding vision of

[1] One thing I should like to notice in passing: that whether the predictions of this chapter have been fulfilled or no, its ancient interpreters have been unusually happy in predictions that are in a fair way to be so. St Hippolytus gathered from it, though it is hard to see on what grounds, that the kingdoms of the Diadochi of the Caesars will pass into democracies: and St Benedict, from the absence of any description of the actual fall of Babylon, gathered that it will be effected by natural convulsions, not by human enemies. We know what he did not, that *si Albani montes lapides dejecerint*, Rome "might easily share the fate of Pompeii."

the New Jerusalem does not need detailed examination. We need not dispute with Vischer, that the distinctively Christian element in it is confined to a few easily separable phrases: on the other hand, the picture is equally in place as the culmination of a Jewish ideal and of a Christian ideal conceived in Jewish forms. That the gates of the City bear the names of the twelve Tribes of Israel is no evidence that salvation, that the highest salvation, is confined to Israelites: on the other hand, the way that "the Nations" are mentioned is real evidence of a Jewish belief in their necessarily and eternally inferior position in the Kingdom of God. But this is not decisive evidence of an exclusively Jewish point of view; for if, on other grounds, we regard the whole book as Christian, we shall be able to regard the privileged citizens of the heavenly metropolis as being St Paul's "Israel of God," the 144,000 of the seventh chapter interpreted by the fourteenth: a divine aristocracy indeed, but elected on spiritual not on carnal principles.

But there is one point where this concluding vision throws light on the question of the integrity of the book. It can hardly be undesigned, that the same angel, or an angel of the same rank and company, is the revealer of the new Babylon and of the New Jerusalem: it marks a suggestive contrast between the two figures of the Bride and the Harlot. While we saw that ch. xvii. delays and rather embarrasses the progress of the action, we are thus led to believe that it forms an integral part of the designed form of the work.

No one will quarrel with Vischer for marking off the last 16 verses, or nearly all of them, as a conclusion, more or less separable from the central series of visions. We have therefore completed our examination of the course of events described in the Apocalypse, and have only to sum up and tabulate our analysis of the work, regarded as a continuous story, and setting aside the passages that are certainly or probably interruptions to its course.

Chh. iv. v. Description of the throne of God and of the Lamb, in the midst of the Host of Heaven.

vi.—viii. 1. The Lamb opens the seven seals of the Book (of life). [Between the sixth and seventh, the servants of God are sealed.]

viii. 2—xi. Seven trumpets sounded by angels. [Between the sixth and seventh, seven thunders utter what may not be written: and a great angel delivers a new commission to the seer: and (he or another) foretells the prophecy of the two Witnesses, their martyrdom before the Beast, resurrection, and triumph.]

vii. 9—17. Vision of the Saints in triumph seems out of place at this stage of events. Compare however xiv. 1—5, xv. 2—4.

xii. War begun in Heaven, and transferred to earth, between the Dragon and the Woman and her Seed.

xiii.—xix. War between the Beast as the Dragon's vicegerent, and the Saints of God.

xx. 1—6. Partial and temporary establishment of the Kingdom of the Saints.

7—10. Rebellion of the Dragon.

11—15. Divine judgement.

xxi. 1—xxii. 5. Final and universal establishment of the Kingdom of God and Christ.

[xii. 11 somewhat interrupts the context.]

[xiii. 9, 10, though at a natural pause in the narrative, resembles passages that interrupt the context.]

xiv. 1—5 is episodical, but not necessarily irrelevant.

[12, 13 seem irrelevant, and 14—20 utterly inappropriate to this place.]

xv, xvi. are episodical, but relevant.

[xvi. 15 is at best parenthetical, interrupting a continuous narrative.]

[xvii. can be omitted with a gain to clearness.]

I think this analysis, though drawn up with Vischer before me, and with the object of looking for illustrations of his hypothesis, really lends it no support. If it points to any hypothesis at all inconsistent with the unity of the book, it would be one more akin to Völter's.

[He analyses the book as follows:

A

The original Apocalypse written by St John the Apostle, i. 4—6 [greeting to the seven *unnamed* Churches of Asia]. iv. 1—v. 10 [omitting the seven horns and seven eyes of the Lamb, iv. 6, because the seven Spirits of God cannot be represented at the same moment by the seven Lamps before the Throne and by the seven eyes]. vi. 1—17 [omitting the wrath of the Lamb, vi. 16, which comes in strangely before 17, where we read, 'the great day of His (i.e. God's) wrath is come.'] vii. 1—8, viii. 1—13, ix. 1—21, xi. 14—19—leaving out 'and of His Christ' in xi. 15, because in the next clause the best attested reading is '*He* shall reign,' and [the time] 'of the dead to be judged,' *v.* 18, as the destroyers of the earth must be destroyed before, not after, the general judgement. xiv. 1—3, omitting [His Name and], in xiv. 1, as the servants of God, vii. 2, are sealed with His Name. xiv. 6, 7, xviii. 1—24, xix. 1—4, xiv. 14—20, xix. 4—10, without the last words 'for the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy,' which

are treated as a later addition, because throughout the original Apocalypse the seer receives his revelations through angels, and the seven Spirits are in no special relation to the Lamb. This work is assigned to 65 or 66 A.D. on the ground that the events of the time more or less suggest what follows in the vision on the opening of the first five seals. A Roman army surrendered to the Parthians in 62. Much of Nero's unpopularity was due to scarcity and high prices. There was a pestilence in the autumn of 65. The wholesale execution of Christians in 64 might suggest the souls crying under the altar.

B

The additions made by the author, x. 1—xi. 13. The angel with the little book (who swears that everything shall be accomplished in the day of the sounding of the Seventh Trumpet, and informs the seer that he has to prophesy *again*) and the Two Witnesses. The section interrupts the connexion. In ix. 21 we have clearly the close of the second woe, and the passing of the second and the coming of the third is announced xi. 14. This passage is assigned to 68 or 69 A.D. on the ground that the seer, after the outbreak of the Jewish War, expects that all Jerusalem except the Temple will be taken and held by the heathen for three years and a half.

If the writer be acquainted with the vision of the Beast out of the Abyss in xvii. 1—18 [when the vision of the seven 'vials' had been inserted before this chapter, the writer of that vision or another would naturally think that the angel who shews the Woman on the Scarlet Beast is one of the seven who had the 'vials'] this vision must be of the same date or earlier. If so Galba, not Vespasian, is meant by the sixth head of the Beast. It is supposed that xiv. 8, the second angel who proclaims the fall of Babylon, was added when xvii. 1—18 was inserted between xiv. 7 and xviii. 1.

C

The episode of the Woman and the Dragon, xii. 1—17. [xii. 11 is assigned to the author of xii. 18—xiii. sqq. and has the look of an afterthought. A year later Völter was convinced by Weiszacker that xii. 13—17 are not by the writer of xii. 1—12; it is hard to see how 6 and 13 could be written by the same man at the same time.] The sequel xix. 11—xxi. 8 [here 'His name is called the Word of God' is omitted as inconsistent with His Name being unknown save to Himself, and again all the mentions of the False Prophet and the mark of the Beast in xix. 20, 21, xxii. 10, are ascribed to the author of xii. 18, xiii. &c.]. xii. is not the sequel of the vision of the Seals and Trumpets which carries us further into the future, still less is it the sequel of xi.; the 42 months in which the Woman is nourished in the Wilderness, and the 1260 days in which the Witnesses prophesy in sackcloth, are two independent representations of the times in which Jerusalem is trodden under foot of the Gentiles. The sequel of xii. in xix. 11—xxi. 8, in which the Man Child fulfils His Mission of ruling with a rod of iron, is plainly independent both of what goes before and

what follows it. The thousand years' reign begins and ends without a word of the Marriage Supper of the Lamb announced, xix. 9. The date of the section is made to depend on the Dragon going to make war with the remnant of the seed of the Woman, which is explained of the systematic persecution of Christianity begun, according to Dr Völter, by Trajan, as no systematic regulations for the punishment of Christians can be traced older than his letter to Pliny. A secondary (and more plausible) sense of these words is found in the insurrection of the Jews of the dispersion. The words 'and his Christ', xi. 15, and 'time of the dead to be judged', xi 18, are supposed to have been inserted with this section.

D

The Beast which rises from the sea in xiii. appears to be described by someone already familiar with the description of the beast in xvii. The ten horns, which in xvii. represent ten kings who have received no kingdom as yet, are crowned in xiii. The worship of the beast and the false prophet are recurring topics throughout the description of the seven 'vials' in xv., xvi. The detailed description of the New Jerusalem, xxi. 9—xxii. 5, has the appearance of being added quite independently of the short announcement, quite complete in itself, in xxi. 5. The original close of this addition is to be found in the parts of xxii. 6—21, where the angel is the speaker, not the Lord.

The date of this addition is made to depend partly on that of C, to which it is certainly posterior, partly on the fact that Trajanus Hadrianus, when accurately transliterated into Hebrew, yields both 666 and 616. The Sibylline books give some plausibility to the conjecture that he is meant by the beast out of the sea: he greatly encouraged the worship of the emperors: so did Herodes Atticus when he was acting as imperial commissioner in Asia Minor, when Hadrian paid his second visit there in 129 A.D. No evidence is available to prove that Herodes Atticus used magic for the purposes of his propaganda, or that the worship was enforced by penalties. The writer of this section, which [more certainly than C] was intended to be incorporated with the rest of the revelation, is supposed to have made the following additions, v. 11—14 (an amplification of the praise of the Lamb), the mention of the wrath of the Lamb in vi. 16, vii. 9—17, (the great multitude of the redeemed), the mention of the Lamb's name in xiv. 1, xiv. 4, 5, which imply that the 144,000 are the firstfruits, not the whole body of the redeemed, xiv. 9—12 (the third angel who proclaims judgement on the worshippers of the beast), and the mention of the false prophet in xix. 20, 21, xx. 9, 10.

E

Lastly, the Seven Epistles to the Churches were added, and at the same time i. 1—3, i. 7, 8; the mention of the seven spirits in v. 6; xiv. 13, the blessing on the dead that die in the Lord, xvi. 15 'behold I come as a thief' &c. xix. 10, 13 (the mention of The Word); and all in xxii. 7—21 which is spoken by the Lord.

This section is assigned to 140 A.D. on the grounds that the angels of the Churches are bishops and that bishops cannot have been established long before, and that the Nicolaitans are a name for the followers of Carpocrates.

* * * * * *

It will be seen that the analysis is independent of the dates, and that the growth of the book as sketched shews a steady approximation to the doctrines of the Fourth Gospel. It is not surprising that Vischer, by excluding everything distinctly Christian, often arrives at the results which Völter reaches by analysis.

I do not mean that we can, by mere analysis of the story, discover as he claims to have done the exact portions due to different authors, still less that we can assign the date of each. But if the Apocalypse is to be divided into different independent works, I think one of them should be conceived to consist of the Prologue in Heaven, with the series of seven seals, seven trumpets, and seven vials, culminating in the Advent of the Son of Man, the harvest and the vintage: and the other of the vision of the mighty angel, the war between the Dragon and the Seed of the Woman; the victory, first of the Messiah over the Beast, and then of God over the Devil; the Judgement by God in person, and the establishment of the New Jerusalem. In each of these we should have to recognise various episodes, of which some may or may not be interpolations; as well as touches supplied in each to unite them with the other. It would be a little less arbitrary than some of Vischer's excisions, if we suppose the mention of "the Lamb" in the second work to be of this character: and then it might be supposed that this was a Jewish Apocalypse while the other was a Christian.

If I may venture to give an opinion, it is in this form that the hypothesis of the partly Jewish origin of the work is most plausible, and if presented in this form it would require serious attention. But to formulate this hypothesis fairly, and propose it for discussion, would require that one should believe it: and this I cannot say that I do. The unity of style throughout the book seems absolutely fatal to a plurality of authors such as is supposed by Völter. It is more consistent with Vischer's theory, that the Christian redactor and interpolator is the translator of all of which he is not the author: but whether even this would account for the unity of style is very doubtful. The Son of Sirach writes quite differently in his Prologue from his translation: and the presumption would have been that the Son of Zebedee (if it be he) would have written the same fair Hellenistic Greek as other New Testament writers, if it had been only the influence of a Hebrew original that made the grammar of the Apocalypse so peculiar.

On the whole, I think the phenomena are best accounted for by what one may call with Vischer the psychological conditions of the case, which are—as he almost admits—much more intelligible on the view of unity in the work. The two series of visions are presented, in part successively and in part alternately, to the mind of the seer: he writes down what he sees or hears, in part when he sees or hears it, or at any-rate as he remembers it: when he hears a divine word, he records it either at once, in the midst of his narrative of visions, or at the first

convenient pause therein. Possibly, indeed, there is a sort of middle term between unity and plurality of authorship: the Revelation may have been written as the well-known tradition says that the Gospel was. St John had a vision: he records it, and the messages to the Churches, in a work drawn up by him after his return from the exile in which he had seen the main vision, but under inspiration cognate with that in which he saw it: and so, whether by voice or pen, he pours forth the tide of prophecy. But "if anything is revealed to another that sitteth by, the first holds his peace:" and so inspired utterances, similar to and suggested by the main vision, but not forming part of its orderly course, find a place in it.

Since the above was written the controversy started by Völter and Vischer has continued and spread. Veterans of different schools like Düsterdieck, Weiss, and Hilgenfeld, still maintain the unity of the Book; but most who write on it abroad seem increasingly doubtful whether this thesis is tenable. Moderate critics like Weissäcker and moderate theologians like Pfleiderer (who on the Johannine question is an extreme and not very authoritative critic) both maintain large interpolations. In France more than one critic inclines to the view that a Christian writer has incorporated a Jewish Apocalypse. In Germany Spitta, who inherits the pietistic traditions of Halle and places his orthodoxy under the protection of Luther, postulates a Christian Apocalypse, consisting mainly of the Book with the Seven Seals and two Jewish Apocalypses, one of the date of Pompey's intrusion into the Temple, the centre of this being the Vision of the Witnesses, and another dating from Caligula the centre of which is the Visions of the Woman, the Dragon and the Beast. All were combined and enlarged by a Christian editor; the analysis is very suggestive, though the main scheme is less than convincing. As Holtzmann says in the Introduction to his suggestive Manual Commentary the question is not ripe for decision, but it may be hoped that criticism is entering on the right way.

EXCURSUS IV.

The Millennium and the First Resurrection.

Ch. XX. 2—7.

Only in this passage is the kingdom of Christ on earth (which is of course one of the most frequent subjects of prophecy) designated as a Millennium or period of 1000 years. It may be added, that this is the only prophecy where there is at all good reason for supposing that the Millennium of popular belief is indicated, as distinct on the one hand from the Kingdom of God which already exists in the Christian Church, and on the other from that which will be set up at the last day.

Nevertheless, this passage is quite sufficient foundation for the doctrine, even if it stood alone: and there are many other prophecies which, if not teaching it so plainly, may fairly be understood to refer to it, if the doctrine be admitted to be according to the mind of the Spirit. We therefore have to consider the question, Is this prophecy to be understood literally? Is it meant that, for a period of a thousand years (or more), before the general Resurrection and the end of this world, this earth will be the scene of a blessed visible Kingdom of God, wherein the power of the Devil will have vanished, and that of Christ be supreme and unopposed? wherein Christ shall either reign visibly on earth, or at least shall make His presence felt far more unmistakeably than at present; while the martyrs and other great saints of all past time shall rise, and, whether on earth or in heaven, share in the glory of His reign?

Down to the fourth century, the decidedly dominant belief of Christendom was in favour of this literal interpretation of the prophecy; since then, at least till the Reformation, it has been still more decidedly against it. In the second century, Papias, who seems to have been more or less personally acquainted with St John himself, taught Millenarian doctrine decidedly: and St Irenaeus and others derived it from him. In the same age St Justin accepted the doctrine, though admitting that Christians were not unanimous on the subject: but he considers St John's authority, in this passage, decisive.

And in fact, the rejection of the doctrine was usually on the part of those who rejected or questioned the authority of the Revelation as a whole: it was held to discredit the book, that it taught the doctrine. Thus in the third century, Caius the Roman Presbyter seems unmistakeably to ascribe the book, not to St John but to his adversary Cerinthus; on the ground of its teaching this carnal and Jewish doctrine of an earthly kingdom of Christ. And St Dionysius of Alexandria, who, though not admitting the book to be the work of St John the Apostle, yet on the whole recognises its inspiration and authority, thinks it necessary to refute a suffragan bishop of his own, who adopted Millenarian views, as though he were at least on the verge of heresy.

The case seems to have stood thus. The doctrine of the Millennium was current in the Church, but was most insisted on in that section of the Church whose Jewish affinities were strongest: and it is asserted—it is very likely true—that the heretical Judaizers expressed their Millennial hopes in a coarse and carnal form. Orthodox Christians condemned their language: but while some of them, like Justin, felt bound, in obedience to the plain teaching of St John, to believe in a Millennium of spiritual blessedness on earth, others, like Caius, rejected altogether the doctrine of the Millennium, and rejected, if necessary, the Apocalypse as teaching it.

But when St Dionysius proposed to reject Millennial doctrine without rejecting the authority of the Apocalypse, a course was suggested which, if less critically and logically defensible, was theologically safer than either. The Apocalypse was declared not really to foretell a Millennium, but only such a kingdom of Christ as all prophecy does foretell, viz. a church such as now exists. To expect His more perfect kingdom to be an earthly and temporal one was pronounced a heresy, a falling back to Judaism.

St Jerome who, living in Palestine, knew more than most men of the Judaizing heresies which still existed in his time, and had once been formidable, spoke very strongly (as his manner was) in condemnation of the *Milliarii* (this, not *Millenarii*, is the ancient Latin name of the sect). He apparently grouped together all believers in the earthly kingdom, whether they regarded its delights as carnal or not: and it seems that his strong language frightened the Church of his time into giving it up. St Augustine had held and taught the doctrine, of course in a pure and spiritual form: but towards the close of his life he abandoned it, and though admitting his old belief to be tolerable, he echoes Jerome's condemnation of the Judaizing caricature of it. The opinion of these two great Fathers was adopted by the Church down to the Reformation, not formally or synodically, but as a matter of popular tradition. Though the tradition as to the nature of the Kingdom changed the old view as to its duration still lingered and the corruptions and calamities of the tenth century led to a widespread fear that the term was nearing a terrible end.

At the Reformation, the Anabaptists proclaimed an earthly kingdom of Christ in the Millenarian sense, and certainly did all they could to discredit the doctrine, by the carnal form in which they held it. There was a tendency to revive the doctrine, among sober Protestants: but the alarm raised by the Anabaptists at first went far to counteract it; e.g. in England one of the 42 Articles of A.D. 1552 condemned it as "Jewish dotage." But when the controversies of the Reformation quieted down, and both the Romanist and the Protestant Churches formulated their own beliefs, the former adhered to the tradition of SS. Jerome and Augustine, while many if not most of the latter, as was natural, went back to the literal sense of Scripture and the older tradition.

It thus appears, that Catholic consent cannot fairly be alleged either for or against the literal interpretation. Catholic feeling does

of course condemn a Judaizing or carnal view of the nature of Christ's Kingdom: but whether He will have a kingdom on earth more perfect, or reign more visibly, than is the case now, is a point on which Christians may lawfully differ; the Church has not pronounced either way.

If the question be theologically open, it appears that, as a matter of opinion, the literal sense is to be preferred: "when the literal sense will stand, that furthest from the letter is the worst." Can anyone honestly say, that Satan has been bound during the time (already far more than a thousand years) that the kingdom of Christ on earth has already existed? that he deceives the nations no more till the present dispensation approaches its end in the days of Antichrist? It is far easier to hold that he *will* be bound for a long time (probably more rather than less than a thousand literal years), after Antichrist has been overthrown, but before the actual end of the world.

As with the Millennium, there is the question whether the First Resurrection is to be understood literally. In fact, the interpretation of these words, literally or otherwise, is the turning-point of the Millenarian controversy.

The plain meaning of the words is, that after the overthrow of Antichrist, the Martyrs and other most excellent Saints will rise from the dead: the rest of the dead, even those finally saved, will not rise till later. But at last, after the Millennium, and after the last short-lived assault of Satan, all the dead, good and wicked, will rise.

Now no Christian doubts that the second or general Resurrection described in *v.* 12 will be literally realised. It is therefore very harsh to suppose that the first is of a different kind. Such is, however, the view which since St Augustine's time has been usually adopted by Catholic theologians. The first Resurrection is understood to be the resurrection "from the death of sin unto the life of righteousness." It admits men into the kingdom of Christ, i.e. the Church, *within which* the power of the Devil is restrained, so that, if he can seduce some to sin, he cannot seduce them to actual idolatry or denial of God. This state of things will last through the whole course of the present dispensation, which, whatever its actual chronological length, is symbolically described as a thousand years. When that ends, there will ensue the three and a half years' struggle with Antichrist—*vv.* 7—10 being regarded as a new description of that period. If anyone can think this a legitimate interpretation of St John's words, he may: and for the coupling of a spiritual with a literal resurrection, St Augustine, and those who follow him, compare St John v. 25, 28. But it seems straining the view of "resumptions" very far, not to take the whole of this chapter as chronologically subsequent to the preceding: and really any view but the literal one seems exposed to insuperable exegetical difficulties.

If the true sense be *not* the literal one, it is safest to regard it as being as yet undiscovered.

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